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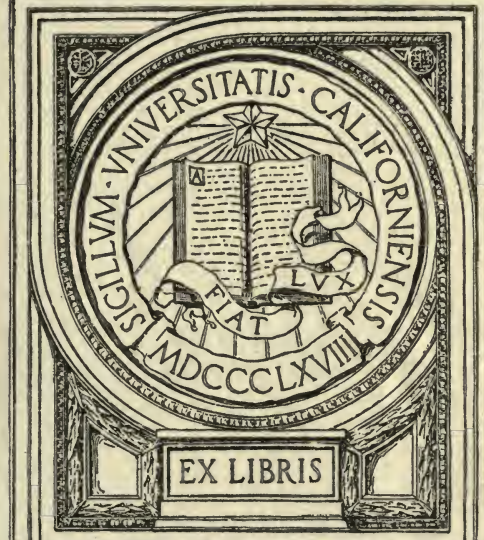
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THE MINISTRY IN THE CHURCH

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THE MINISTRY IN THE CHURCH

IN RELATION TO PROPHECY AND SPIRITUAL GIFTS

(CHARISMATA)

BY

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PREFACE

THESE lectures, delivered on the Alexander Robertson Foundation in the University of Glasgow, were written during August, September and October of 1914, months of distraction and anxiety for us all; and since their delivery the circumstances of the time have allowed of little leisure for their revisal :—I am extremely conscious that they are even less adequate to the subject than otherwise one might have hoped to make them. The subject is, besides, one which calls for an expert knowledge possible only to those whose main work lies along special lines, a knowledge to which I cannot at all pretend. So far however as experts are good enough to supply us with their data and reasons, there is opportunity for even the less well equipped to form an opinion upon the conclusions which experts reach, and to submit conclusions to which on consideration of the data they themselves have been led.

My interest was directed to this subject of the relation of Ministry to Charismata in connection with the inclination apparent in some recent apologetic to relate the Episcopate as we find it in the latter part of the Second Century with an earlier charismatic ministry, to which there seems to be

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a thought of serving the Episcopate heir. The idea that such a relation may exist in no way repelled me. I was rather attracted than otherwise by the idea as, for example, it is somewhat generally stated by the late Bishop of Salisbury in his *Ministry of Grace*, and was willing to think that it stood for something more or less actual. One had been accustomed to assume that the hypothesis of a primary charismatic ministry offered a legitimate way of describing undoubted phenomena of the first age of Christianity; since men like Dr. Wordsworth, Dr. Gore or Mr. Turner, whose authority one very much regards, for whose work one is grateful, with whose general attitude to Church questions one is sympathetic, treated it rather as a critical result from which without further discussion it is possible to argue. I had taken for granted the genuineness of the *Didache*, while leaning to a belief in the earlier of the dates which are suggested for it, believing it to have issued from some semi-Ebionite eddy lying out of the main currents of Church life, and to preserve for us the type, not of a primitive Christianity so much as of a persisting Judaism—and therefore to be of the less substantial importance in any question of origins. One had taken for granted too the Christian prophet, puzzled as one might be by the place which St. Paul seems on any casual reading to assign to him, but indolently accepting current statements which include him with Apostles in a spiritual hierarchy, as in some sense probably true.

I was, however, startled by certain of the in-

ferences to which the effort to connect the Mono-Episcopate with this hierarchy seemed likely to lead, and yet more by concessions made in the interest of that connection. I found it said, for example, that " we can accept Dr. Lindsay's theory of origins," which I confess that I am reluctant to do; and again that " all that must be decisively rejected in the view propounded by Dr. Lindsay is the idea of the local Church as being independent of the main body "—whereas other statements occurring in the work quoted, as for instance that the Church has at one point changed its Ministry and can do so at any point, seemed to call for as decisive rejection. So again in the notable *Dissertation* on the organisation of the Church which enriches the first volume of the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, I found the distinction between the positions of the charismatic and of the local Ministry carried so far, and the charismatic so highly exalted at the expense of the regular, that the latter in effect ceases to be a ministry and becomes such a detail in the organisation of a laity as Sunday School teachers or District Visitors may be with ourselves. True, the statement is qualified with an " almost "—but there it is, and I found it, as coming from such a quarter, startling. One was the less surprised to find in *Foundations* an apparent willingness to contemplate without any great reluctance the surrender of Apostolic succession " as commonly understood," and a readiness to be, with Mr. Tyrrell, content if the claim of " general ecclesiastical continuity " can be maintained. Positions such as these seemed to me

to involve the collapse of that doctrine of the Holy Ministry which has hitherto been accounted the Catholic doctrine. Out of the ruin the Episcopate indeed purports to be preserved in esteem as in some way attached to the primary charismatic ministry, from which a function of rule and possibly a certain Heavenliness of origin are thought to have devolved upon it. But even as an apologetic for Episcopacy this seemed to me a theory too expensive in cost and extremely uncertain in ultimate result.

Three premisses might seem to be involved for the theory in question :—

(1) It has to be shown that charismatic rulers (other than the Apostles : everyone admits the Twelve and claims from them) existed before Bishops who ruled came to exist. The theory of Twofold Ministry may either be assumed as true or argued for true; and is now generally assumed rather than re-argued.

(2) It has to be shown that the Bishop not only followed upon the prophet or other charismatic ruler, but that the Bishop validly inherited authority from the charismatic—inherited in a sense other than rhetorical; and probably also shown that something charismatic devolved upon the Bishop from the charismatic order.

(3) It has in a subsidiary way to be shown that the Presbyter did not occupy the position traditionally assigned to him, but traces only to some such place among a laity as that in which Mr. Turner thinks he is originally to be discerned, or to the place of such a " privileged senior "

of the flock "occupying a semi-official status," as Mr. Rawlinson describes.

Each of these premisses may be thought to contain some element of difficulty. As to the second of them, I am not able to see that, even if the first premiss be granted, more has as yet been shown than that once there were charismatics and that later there were bishops. Sequence in possession, even if the sequence were demonstrated, does not infer inheritance. I find myself unable to understand how the authority of a charismatic can be inherited, or how charisma can be devolved. Charisma, if we follow St. Paul's account of it, comes as a direct allocation by the Holy Spirit: any authority which a charismatic person exercises, he holds in virtue simply of his charisma. Official authority can be transmitted, and office can be devolved—but I cannot conceive of official prophets, or see how (though Elijah could indicate the granting of Elisha's prayer) one prophet can make another prophet. The doctrine of charisma following office is another matter. As to the third premiss noted above, that relating to presbyters, it might perhaps be supported on Mr. Hatch's method of "commencing where the New Testament leaves off"; but that method is less possible now than when Mr. Hatch essayed to employ it.

In attempting to examine this question of Ministry and Charismata I have found preconceived ideas, with which I had approached it, to be changing. I found myself becoming extremely uncertain of the genuineness of the *Didache* in its present

form, and becoming convinced that, while prophets indeed prophesied, they at no point are discovered to have ruled—that in fact the Theory of Twofold Ministry does not accurately interpret the history of the first age of Christianity and that there has not existed any hierarchy of charismatic officers from whom it was practicable to inherit. In that case it would be of course unnecessary to inquire further as to the possible devolution of charisma or inheritance of charismatic authority. If the attempt to express these convictions has occasionally led one to disagree with persons who are immeasurably more competent to judge of such matters, I am aware that these will be the last to resent the presumption.

I have to acknowledge most kind help from the Rev. J. M. Kirkpatrick and the Rev. A. W. Wotherspoon, who have read my proofs; and from the Rev. O. S. Rankin for references with which he has been good enough to supply me.

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   Incidentally it may include prediction, trance, vision, subjective impressions, indication to office, and apocalypse.
   Essentially and constantly it is revelation of God in Christ, as that occurs in the Soul. "When it pleased God to reveal His Son in me."

Much that we should now describe otherwise was at first properly recognised as prophetic.
The teratic element was not that in prophecy which which is a foundation of the Church.

III. The record of New Testament prophecy is the New Testament Scriptures, as incorporating the study and exegesis of the Christian data.
The data do not themselves constitute a Gospel. Gospel is inference from the data. The New Testament is the work, not of Apostleship as such, but of prophecy.
These Scriptures correspond to a diffused expiscation of the Christian inference throughout Christian experience.
This expiscation, however, is a work in which some must have been specially active. These would be referred to as, *par excellence*, prophets.
This application of the term is possibly an Old Testament survival.

IV. The false prophet.
The safeguard of prophecy was its impersonal character.
The oracular prophet would be in Christianity a spiritual anomaly.
False prophets, as they appear in patristic authors.
Prophecy always showed higher and lower forms: hence two possible lines of development: a true and a false.
The Church in practice followed the true line: "the prophetic gift must continue in the whole Church."[22]

V. The theory of Twofold Ministry is impracticable—
It rests upon a false distinction.
It depresses the Christian flock, as Institutional theories of Ministry do not.
A Twofoldness is perceptible in the first stage. It is that of Foundation and Building: of the Apostolic element in its aspect of uniqueness, along with the Church in process of assuming a permanent form.
Accordingly, after the Apostolic age that Twofoldness ceases to be perceptible.
Nevertheless, "the prophetic gift must continue in the whole Church until the coming of the Lord."[23]

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MINISTRY IN THE CHURCH

LECTURE I

CERTAIN THEORIES OF CHURCH AND MINISTRY

THE history of Ministry in the Church of God presents, it must be admitted, one problem hitherto unsolved—that namely of the emergence and rapid prevalence of the monarchical Episcopate. Otherwise the account of its own Ministry traditionally given and received by the Church is in its main features sufficiently simple, and is in general accordance with the sources of information. The account is that of a Ministry originating in our Lord's commission to His apostles, and proceeding from them by acts of devolution—a Ministry imbedded indeed in the atmosphere of an intense spiritual activity and power which was confined to no official channel, being as it was the vital activity of the body of which the Ministry is part—nevertheless a Ministry exercising its specific functions, not in virtue of its sharing in that common current of life but in virtue of office and commission and of grace thereto congruous. Such a conception of Ministry is suggested by the general treatment of the subject by the canonical writers: it is traceable in the

sub-apostolic Fathers, as Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Irenaeus: it has been prevalent throughout the history of the Church; and it is maintained by modern Anglicanism and by the Presbyterianism which has followed the Westminster standards, as well as by the unreformed Churches in East and West. Continental Reformers, on the other hand, showed an inclination to fall back on a theory of extraordinary ministries and to regard themselves as standing in a new mission as Evangelists raised for the need of the time, and competent to establish a pastorate with sufficient warrant for the handling of the Word and Sacraments. Lutheranism has never concerned itself with any doctrine of succession, though prepared in some cases to assert its possession. Lutherans are not interested in the history of ministry unless speculatively and critically. Calvin probably took the same view as Luther; but the second Helvetic confession, which represents the consensus of the reformed Communions in the middle of the sixteenth century, clearly adheres to the traditional position, asserts succession and prescribes ordination by the ordained. Knox, although one of the signatories to this, seems to have regarded his own claim to ministry as prophetic, and would possibly have preferred to assert the same of those whom he regarded as true ministers of Christ. If so, he failed to impress his view upon his coadjutors, and the doctrine of the second Helvetic confession has always ruled the doctrine and practice of the Church of Scotland;

and indeed no one is more severe than Knox himself on such as run without being sent or who assume without due commission to handle the seals of the King of Heaven.

The Reformation, however, stirred the whole question of orders, their nature and origin, and revived interest in what were described as "extraordinary Ministries" as a conceivable source of fresh commission, and about the year 1580 a new doctrine on the subject was formulated, known at first as Brownism and later as Independency. This regarded ministry as an evolution from the flock, each self-associated group of Christians being considered as a microcosm—locally and temporally a manifestation of the Church Universal—the primary depositary of the gifts of the Spirit and the immediate source of commission. This presentation at once vindicated itself as intelligible and energetic; it embodied an idea.

For the Church can be conceived of in at least two distinct ways. It may be conceived of as a continuous corporation (the phrase, I think, is Newman's), a substantive kingdom of grace, holding its way through the ages and taking up into itself such elements of humanity as accord with its nature or submit to its claim. In that view the Church is ideally antecedent to the individual. It is the primary recipient of the Holy Spirit. Its institutions are organically involved with its life as constituted: as they are bestowed, so they abide—modifiable, perhaps, in arrangement, adaptable in

application, but unalterable in character. There is, that is to say, a deposit of faith, which cannot be increased or diminished: there are Sacraments which are fixed in number and content: there are ministries, given at the first to continue to the end. The Church is in that view the Body of Christ, a Divine Creation, an extension and continuation of the method of Incarnation. Those who are added to the Lord are added to the Church—that which effects the one union effecting the other union. The Divine thing in the world is this Kingdom of Heaven, which appropriates and assimilates to itself its material from our corrupt and perishing humanity, and demonstrates itself as Divine through its power by such a process to persist, and to maintain correspondence with a Heavenly origin, a Heavenly calling, and a Heavenly destination. This is the Catholic conception of the Church, which has been common to the unreformed and to certain at least of the reformed Communions.

On the other hand the Church may be conceived of as adequately given in the giving of Spirit, and as summed up in the fact of that gift,[1] rather than as a Divinely organised society inhabited by the Spirit. In that case the believer is ideally antecedent to the Church, and the Church is equivalent to the sum total of believers, which as a unity exists

[1] "The Church depends upon essential reality, upon the instant and constant proclamation of God's word, God's will, in Spirit and in Truth."—Lowrie, *The Church and its Organisation*, p. 4.

only in the Spirit, but emerges into observation in any such association as may result from the Christian instinct and which is equally manifest in any and every such association. In this conception the Divine thing in the world is the regenerate soul with its endowment of grace and truth, its affinities, sympathies and sacred impulses. This believing soul is then the immediate recipient of the Holy Spirit. Those energies and those collective faculties which are attributed, not to the individual but to the Christian Society, emerge and become efficient upon the association of believers with one another—an association to which they are called and impelled, which is the requirement of their nature as regenerate and is necessary for the full exercise of the Mission of the Spirit by their means, but which is dependent on nothing else than their obedience to the impulse to associate and to the fact that they are associated. Two or three are gathered together[1]: there Christ is in the midst of them, and there is the Church in plenitude of commission and of capacity for its execution.

This conception of the Church is logical and concatenated. It covers the ground. It has an intellectual basis; and it corresponds to a definite and respectable type of Christian experience and is

[1] St. Matt. xviii. 20: The promise is to those who are gathered "in My Name," and its scope will depend on what may be understood as included under "The Name of Christ"—whether, for example, it implies gathering in obedience to Christ's Ordinances.

likely always to appeal to one class of mind. It has the merit of elasticity, and may be held more or less thoroughly and carried out with more or less consistence. One may combine with it Calvin's insistence on certain offices as Scriptural and on a certain form of organisation as of Divine right. It may reconcile conscience to the acceptance of an Erastian arrangement prescribed in the past and proved tolerable in the present—which may seem to be the position in Lutheranism. Or it will admit of such a system as that of the Friends, in which institutions are superfluous; or of the Salvation Army, in which they are improvised. Independency, however, shows it in its historical and typical embodiment: there it is most systematic, spiritually imagined, theoretically argued, scripturally supported, practically organised; and however widely the conception may be elsewhere utilised, it is held elsewhere with less consistence. It is the proper antithesis of the Catholic conception, as a rival interpretation of those facts which suggest for the Christian Society a Divine plan. As such it has been, if one may put it so, rediscovered and restated on a philosophic basis by Professor Rudolph Sohm (whom Mr. Lowrie so ably interprets to us) and in that form has secured a wide appreciation.[1]

The difficulty of this theory of the Church has

[1] "Sohm's theory, with the exception of the Catholic view, is the most coherent and complete that has ever been put forward."—Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church*, trans. F. L. Pogson, p. 176.

been mainly historical. Its difficulties begin within sacred history—New Testament narrative and allusion seem to lend themselves more readily to the Catholic than to the individualistic reading. It can hardly be doubted that patristic evidence supports the Catholic theory, or that that has prevailed in the Church from a very early date. In order to hold any other theory it is necessary to suppose that the Church departed from its proper order within, if not before, the period known as sub-apostolic. The Catholic view, on the other hand, has not only the general support of history, but finds the Scriptural evidence at least as patient of its interpretation as of any other. So far, therefore, the non-Catholic interpretation has had a narrowly restricted basis in the facts as known, and was compelled to argue largely *a priori*, appealing to the spiritual character of Christianity, and implying an opposition between the Spiritual and the Institutional, of which the existence is not to all minds self-evident.

The discovery (in 1884) of the work known as the *Didache*, or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," with the research for illustrative material to which that event gave occasion and with the re-arrangement of evidence in light of its suggestions, has certainly gone some way to remedy this weakness. A historical setting was thereby supplied for the presentation of ministry as *prophetic* and as independent of institutional sanction, which previously had been much to seek. The conception of the

Church as primarily a Spiritual community of Spiritual men, based on the individual quality and experience of its component members, manifested in their spontaneous aggregation, creating its own institutions and authorising its own ministries, has been re-elaborated with greater resource and has been restated with new cogency—by none with more learning and force than by Principal Lindsay of this city.[1] His treatise [2] lacks, perhaps, something of the philosophic unity and spiritual method of apprehension which characterises Professor Sohm's position, but has the advantage of leaving present systems uncondemned, since it leaves them claiming little that need occasion question. Whether the evidence will sustain these positions it is one object of the present lecture to consider.

The prophetic conception of Ministry has in its favour certain correspondences with the temper of our own period, to which possibly it owes something. It accords with the democratic idea which sees the origin of authority in the mass of citizenship. It accords with the tendency to spiritualise the content of religion and to connect validity with experience. And it accords with the tendency to explain everything in terms of evolution. On the other hand, there is room for question whether the Christian system as a whole is characteristically democratic—if it is thought of as including any

[1] This was written before the lamented death of that eminent scholar.

[2] *The Church and Ministry in the Early Centuries.*

permanent and personal Christ, it is not democratic but monarchical, and its monarchy is absolutist—it proclaims not the Republic, but the Kingdom of Heaven. Nor in the Christian system are the concrete and factual necessarily opposed to the spiritual: in one view (which has not a few supporters) Christianity is distinctively the religion of Incarnation, according to which spirit ever seeks for body and the Word becomes flesh—an outward sign constantly accompanying and serving the Spiritual, so that at every point a Sacramental relation is discoverable between the external in its apparatus and a Heavenly and inward element, which thereby becomes accessible to men who are themselves in the body: a relation in virtue of which the Kingdom of Heaven finds place in this world of sensible things, and without ceasing to be Heavenly can work under conditions of time and place, such as men inhabit. As for its relation to the doctrine of evolution, everything no doubt is the subject of evolution, in the sense that everything has a history and is connected to its own past; but many evolutions have sudden and definite issues: long preparations lead to critical moments, and history is full, not of processes only, but also of events. The account which Christianity has to give of itself is that its origin is in an event, which was followed by a fresh departure and by new things. Even from the *a priori* point of view there is something to be said for the institutional conception of the Church.

The latter part of last century was marked by a revival of interest in the subject of the Christian origins, including that of the Ministry. In this country the Tractarian Movement had reasserted the doctrine of Apostolic Succession through bishops, in a form somewhat rigidly conceived and uncritically derived from scriptural precedents (such as those of James at Jerusalem or of Timothy and Titus in their relation to St. Paul) and from the patristic evidence as the Tractarians read it.[1] The interest thereby created led upon the one hand to a renewed assertion by Divines of the Church of Scotland of that doctrine of presbyteral succession which was habitual in the classical period of Presbyterianism,[2] and on the other hand led to a deeper research into the sources. In 1868 Dr. Lightfoot published his work on the Epistle to the Philippians, with the dissertation on the Christian Ministry, in which he maintained the original equivalence of presbyter and bishop, and the emergence of the Episcopate by elevation out of

[1] The *Theophilus Anglicanus* (A.D. 1843) of Bishop Christopher Wordsworth may be instanced as a typical example of the method.

[2] See, *e.g.*, a series of Articles which appeared, 1839, in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, a magazine printed and edited by Dr. Andrew Thompson of St. George's; and later Dr. Sprott, *Sermon before the Synod of Aberdeen*, 1873, *Worship and Offices*, 1882; Dr. Leishman *passim*; Dr. Story (*Memoir of R. H. Story*, pp. 138–9); and on the subject generally a paper by the present writer in *Scottish Church Society Conferences*, 4th Series, Hitt, 1909.

the Presbyterate. Nine years later, in 1877, he began to issue his edition of the Apostolic Fathers, his *Clement* appearing in that year, and his Appendix to it with the recently recovered portions of the Epistle in 1879. In 1881 Mr. Hatch's Bampton Lecture, *The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*, which submitted a new evolutionary theory of the Ministry and of the distinction of presbyter and bishop, had appeared and had attracted attention. Finally, in 1884, while Lightfoot's *Ignatius* was actually passing through the Press, a new document, the *Didache*, apparently of the first age and presumably of capital importance, was given to the world. Its earlier section showed matter which recalled portions of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and its later section matter which could at once be paralleled with portions of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Its discoverer identified it with a work or works referred to by Eusebius and Athanasius, and assigned it to about the date A.D. 100. The main interest of the document lay in the latter section which has the character of a Church Manual and gives directions as to Baptism, Fasting, Prayer, the Eucharist, and for relations to Apostles and Prophets, Bishops and Deacons.

This discovery has exercised a profound influence on subsequent discussion of Christian origins. The discussion of the nature and history of ministry would have doubtless in any case proceeded—the work of Lightfoot and Hatch had already secured re-examination of sources; Bishop Charles Words-

worth's appeal for reunion between the National Churches of England and Scotland, A.D. 1853 onwards, to which we may refer the beginning of the present interest in Christian unity, had sent Presbyterianism to consider its title deeds, which since the Revolution Settlement it had been content to take for granted. The critical method applied everywhere would have been applied in this field as well. But the publication of the *Didache* came to give an urgent and immediate impulse to the application. The writing was generally accepted as exceedingly early—Harnack stood almost alone in bringing its possible date as low as the second half of the second century; and it was accepted as representative of the Church life of its period or of the period immediately antecedent. It introduced a point of view. It was spoken of as lifting a veil, casting a light, supplying a link. It seemed to lie behind all the manuals of Church order known to exist: Harnack at once (1886) edited the earliest of these, the *Apostolic Canons*, and showed the common matter, in light of which the *Didache* seemed a still earlier source. Its disclosure of apostles and prophets as living and active agents in the life of its time was thus connected with a whole mass of reference in the New Testament writings and in early extra-canonical literature, and especially with the fact that apostles and prophets, along with teachers (who are also, but less emphatically, mentioned in the *Didache*) head St. Paul's lists of persons and gifts in his Epistles to Corinth and Ephesus. In St. Paul's

view these, apostles and prophets, are "foundations"[1] of the Church; in the *Didache*, however, their operations appear, not at any founding, but as familiar and expected where some degree of settled order has been reached. These directions of the *Didache* are rules, and rule supposes custom. The writer is able to describe his work—we must suppose with some degree of speciousness—as the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, who stood at the beginning of all Church order; and the fact that he can so entitle it implies that he is not prescribing the entirely new, but assumes himself to be formulating practice which already existed. His title may be more or less fictional; but even the fiction would be possible only in a community which has reached the stage at which the usual exists, and is sufficiently established to admit of regulation and of explanation; and if this is fiction, it is fiction which would be possible only where usage is so far developed that its beginnings are forgotten.

And within this order of the usual appear apostles and prophets. In St. Paul's conception, as presented in 1 Corinthians and Ephesians, pre-eminence of some sort is assigned to Apostle, Prophet and Teacher; and in the *Didache* it is easy to find prescriptions which may be read as assigning a pre-eminence to persons who are at least described

[1] "Foundations," not "Founders." The difference of the ideas implied respectively in these two words is really radical to this discussion, although Dr. Gore (*Orders and Unity*, p. 95) seems to use them as interchangeable.

by the same titles. If, then, St. Paul's lists which occur in these Epistles are to be conceived of as lists of *ministries* in any technical sense, the ministries which he names are obviously not those which have since become stereotyped in the Church's system. St. Paul identifies them with the incidence of charismata, that is, of specific endowments conferred by the Pentecostal Spirit—it is doubtful whether the ministries of which we are accustomed to think as permanent and regular have any place at all in those lists. They may be covered by the phrase " pastors and teachers " in the Ephesian list; but the " teacher " also appears in the *Didache* in association with the apostle and prophet, and there are indications elsewhere that the teacher was a recognised charismatic, occupying a position which was not that of bishop or of presbyter but was constituted by " gift." If regular and permanent ministry is to be found in St. Paul's lists, it may be only under the head of " helps and governments," which in the Corinthians passage follows, but in a group which is obviously subordinate. The ministries in that case upon which St. Paul lays stress would be not those which as institutional and official lie behind the succession of bishops and presbyters, but would be those others—apostle, prophet, evangelist, teacher—of which the common characteristic might seem to be that they are not " of man or by man," but are of the nature of an immediate creation by the influx of the Holy Spirit upon the human spirit. We would then

have a deep and far-reaching distinction between two types of ministry, the charismatic and the official. The charismatic ministry would appear as the primary and authoritative—the official ministry as the secondary and dependent; the charismatic as the divine creation, the regular as at most its creature—possibly not as even so much, but as only the natural provision of the Christian Society for its own greater convenience.

Such was the suggestion deduced from the newly discovered document. The common practice previously had been to treat the charismatic element generally either as non-historical or as the feature of an age of miracle which is past. The Church had originated in an atmosphere of the supernatural which must be allowed to clear away before history in the accepted sense could be taken in hand. So far as Scripture carries us, it had been found sufficient to condense Scriptural narrative with its account of signs and wonders accompanying the propagation of the Gospel, as to which Scripture must speak for itself. Döllinger, for example, in his *First Age of the Church*,[1] dismisses the subject in a few pages. He speaks of extraordinary gifts conferred by the laying on of the apostles' hands as "widely communicated," and goes on: "This was a condition singular in history which has never since repeated itself, and which in the absence of any experience we can only approximately conceive of." "This condition [he says] gradually passed

[1] Translated, H. R. Oxenham, 4th ed., p. 286.

away "[1]; from the time of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians "it was more and more passing away."[2] The persons of whom St. Paul in his lists speaks had been regarded as discharging exceptional functions required at an exceptional juncture. The Westminster *Form of Church Government* briefly says of them that they "are ceased," while pastors, teachers and deacons are perpetual; and its view is substantially the view prevalent until last generation. Reformed divines, indeed, kept in reserve the possibility of the re-emergence of extraordinary ministry on adequate occasion. Calvin probably thought that such an occasion had arisen in his own time,[3] and Gore is perhaps right in believing that Calvin derived the authority of the Reformed Pastorate from such a "new mission."[4] Our Scottish Divines admitted the conceivability of the emergence[5] and the feasibility of this plea for their own status, had the occasion for it existed; but denied that it had arisen, and preferred to trace their "ordinary vocation" to regular succession from the ministry of the unreformed Church. In "settled Churches" the extraordinary ministries had no place; and, for the contingency of the failure of regular ministry, it was their commonplace that

[1] Translated H. R. Oxenham, 4th ed., p. 323.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[3] *Inst.*, IV. 2. 12. Quoted Gore.

[4] *Orders and Unity*, p. 179 *n.*

[5] See Smeton, Patrick Forbes, Gillespie, etc.; and see especially Patrick Forbes, *Defence of the Lawful Calling*, etc., *passim.*

to imagine it was to reflect on the faithfulness of God.

In the *Didache*, however, those "extraordinary" persons the apostle and prophet appear as normally active in Churches which are sufficiently "settled" to be provided with bishops and deacons, to use the Sacraments, and to require something like a code of canons for which their practice provides material. The period to which these canons are supposed to refer is at least later than the death of the last of the Twelve. If, then, the *Didache* be taken as representative of any state of matters generally prevalent, the inference would be that charismatic persons down to that time which it represents constituted something like a definite ministry; that this ministry was by no means a phenomenon solely of the immediately post-pentecostal period; that such ministry did not begin to "pass away" at the very early date given, for example, by Döllinger for the beginning of its disappearance; that, on the contrary, some half century later it was in something like full vigour,[1] and was then still the main factor in Church life

[1] I do not myself find in the *Didache* any plain indication of such decadence or obsolescence of charismatic influence as are sometimes discovered; see, *e. g.*, Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 176 *n.*; Allen, *Christian Institutions*, p. 59; Sanday, *Expositor*, Third Series, Vol. VI. p. 109; Swete, *Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, p. 22, etc. Warnings against false prophets do not amount to such indication; they are found, for that matter, in Deuteronomy and in the New Testament. The *Didache* seems to assume the prophet as flourishing happily.

to be recognised in codifying practice. Farther and important inferences are in that case suggested and have been drawn:—the original ministry of the Church was then charismatic, not institutional; and it consisted of those persons who are named in St. Paul's lists. Such a theory was at once formulated by Harnack and has been widely followed—a theory based partly on the suggestion of the *Didache*, but resting rather upon that suggestion correlated with other material which was at once re-interpreted in the light of the *Didache*. Sohm[1] conveniently summarises the theory as "distinguishing a double organisation, one spiritual, universal, unitary, applying to the Church as a whole: and the other legal, belonging to the local community—charisma in the former, election and office in the latter; the gradual dying out of the charismata, of the apostles, prophets and teachers; the transference of the function of teaching to the elected bishops." The charismatic ministry, the theory in its complete form infers or postulates, was not dependent on ecclesiastical sanction; it required no ordination; it was general, not local; it stood for the authority of the Church as a whole; it was peripatetic or itinerant; it exercised the oversight of the overseers; when it came, it took command and superseded local and appointed functionaries. These local functionaries—bishops, presbyters, deacons—grew up under its

[1] See Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church*, trans. Williams & Norgate, p. 190.

direction and constituted a ministry of an inferior and more earthly type; a ministry without responsibility wider than might exist toward the particular Church appointing them, depending on lower sanction and not necessarily equipped with special gift or grace; a ministry rather of management, a ministry of affairs, of discipline and the like; and one which, whatever its usefulness, left the Church which it served dependent on the itinerating charismatic for the higher ministrations of religion.[1]

Such in outline is the theory of Twofold Ministry, which to many minds was suggested by study of the *Didache*. It is, one may see, a theory which involves farther that the charismatic ministry which it holds forth should be supposed to have carried within itself the seeds of a decay which might not have been expected to exist in an institution directly derived from Heaven and pregnant with the inexhaustible resources of Divine Spirit. It assumes this Heaven-derived ministry to be inherently unfit to co-exist with the development of the Christian Society: to the result that in or about the first half of the second century it suffered rapid collapse and by the end of that century was effectively a thing of the past. It has also to recognise that a ministry which it regards as local and inferior displayed, notwithstanding its mundane and merely legal origin, a startling correspondence with the real requirement of the position, an

[1] Turner, *Camb. Med. Hist.*, pp. 144, 145.

elasticity and adaptibility, a capacity and an energy of correspondence with fact, in virtue of which it found itself automatically substituted for the older and higher system, which disappeared before it, as we are better accustomed to see the more earthly vanish before the more divine. Farther, this vast and radical change in the character of the Church as an institution must be supposed to have taken place within little more than a single generation and entirely within the activity and under the observation of the same persons. At the same time it must have happened unconsciously, silently, without ambition of the inferior ministry to displace the superior, and without resistance on the part of those inspired persons or attempt of theirs to maintain the charge directly committed to them from Heaven: if any protest was raised, it was not until the revolution was complete, and then from none of the Churches which were recognised as guardians of tradition and custom, but from a village in the highlands of Phrygia, and by an individual of whom little is known but that he was a recent convert to Christianity, who perhaps had been a priest of the wild cult of Cybele.

These are hard sayings. A very thorough examination of the sources on which they depend and a very convincing result from the examination would seem to be required to establish such conclusions; for on the face of the matter they do not impress themselves as probable. In particular the document which has mainly suggested them

would seem to call for careful consideration. Not that the theory of twofold ministry is supported from the *Didache* by itself—an ample research has been brought to its service, and the available material so far as relevant has been thoroughly utilised for its illustration; but that unless the discovery of the *Didache* had taken place, no such theory would have originated or would now have much chance of maintaining itself. The evidences supporting the theory are arranged round suggestions derived from the *Didache* and draw coherence from the assumption that a state of matters such as that which the *Didache* seems to imply was at some point of time prevalent, and that the *Didache* is representative of Church life at that period.

The theory of twofold ministry does not rest upon the *Didache* only; it looks for support also to St. Paul's enumerations of charismatic persons and gifts in 1 Cor. xii., and in Ephes. iv.: to his discussion of charismata, their relative values and their uses, in 1 Cor. xii.–xiv.: to parts of St. Luke's narrative in the Book of Acts, such as the account of the "setting apart" of Barnabas and Saul (chap. xiii.), and to other passages of the New Testament. It refers to the *Pastor* of Hermas and its descriptions of the founding in successive courses of the Mystical Tower which is the Church; and it calls to its service much else, not all perhaps equally germane to its thesis. It has appealed to the Montanistic outburst of the middle of the second century as an evident reaction against the sub-

stitution of a regular for a charismatic ministry, a last despairing effort to reassert the validity of the purely spiritual and to revive its force. All this material, however, requires an interpretative illumination which only the *Didache* affords. It is necessary to assume the *Didache* as authentic and veridical in order from that to derive the framework into which other material can be woven. Withdraw the skeleton which the *Didache* supplies, and there does not remain anything sufficiently substantial to range against evidence which suggests conclusions of a quite different kind. The New Testament literature, for example, does not apparently of itself lead to the inference of a separate and preponderant charismatic ministry: that literature had been sufficiently considered previous to Bryennios' discovery without leading to any such inference, and very great difficulty remains in reconciling it with the historicity of the *Didache* as an account of conditions existing at any assignable date. The Book of Acts and no less the Pastoral Epistles present a view of Church organisation which seems to be radically different. If the argument from silence is to be allowed place, the difficulty of reconciling the evidence of the *Didache* with that of the New Testament becomes still greater, for apart from passages in two of St. Paul's Epistles and from allusions to the activity of prophets which are found in the Book of Acts, there is little in the New Testament on which the theory of an œcumenical charismatic ministry can rely. But the

New Testament documents, however regarded, are, at all events in this matter, evidence of the first importance. They are the contemporary documents of the period most crucially involved. They are of earlier date than can be feasibly suggested for the *Didache*, and they are of much more certain origin. So far as critical questions of date or authorship affect any of them, these questions are for the purpose of the inquiry of less account, since in any case the documents remain evidence for the period within which inquiry must necessarily lie. And if the type of ministry which is judged to be discoverable in the *Didache—i. e.*, an itinerant ministry warranted by gift, in comparison with which fixed and constituted ministry was of negligible authority—is not discoverable in the earlier period represented by the New Testament writings, its discovery in a solitary document, isolated in its testimony, peculiar in its presentation of Church life in other respects, of uncertain *provenance* and unquestionably of date later than that of even the later New Testament writings, will not necessarily transform the problem of Church origins. It may, then, be only this document which itself needs to be accounted for; and there may be an account of it more probable than one which involves so many difficulties, historical and critical. On the face of the position there seems no conclusive reason for assigning to the *Didache* greater weight than to the Book of Acts or to the Pastoral Epistles, upon a question which is after all a question of the state

of matters during the first rather than during the second century. For if the charismatic ministry did not exist as a separate and superior ministry within the Apostolic period, it cannot have had much right to rule in the sub-Apostolic.

The result reached from consideration of other capital sources is similar. St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthian Church is if anything earlier than the date most generally assigned to the *Didache*, and the Epistles of St. Ignatius are only slightly junior. Neither of them show any consciousness of a charismatic ministry. Both are occupied with questions of ministry, but they are questions of regular and institutional ministry. The authenticity of these documents is not seriously questioned : we know what and whence they are. They are evidence for the conditions of Church life for Rome, Achaia, Asia Minor and Syria, regions where Christianity was oldest and the Church best consolidated. If the *Didache* be taken as representing a system at any time general, it is extremely difficult to reconcile its evidence with theirs. On the other hand, they accord with that of the New Testament documents. Once more it is the *Didache* for which it seems necessary to account, as being the exceptional, the inconsistent, almost the fantastic. Nor is the *Didache* explained if it is regarded as archaic, a fossil testifying to an order of life once abundant. The Epistles of St. Paul are older; the Epistles of St. Peter and of St. John are older; the Book of the Acts is older; the Epistle of Clement is at least

as old. If the *Didache* discloses to us a stage of Church life which, though at its own period decadent, had been formerly general (and if it does not do this, it can be of no particular significance), its indications ought to correspond with those of sources which belong to that more primitive time; it should recall to us the atmosphere in which the great apostles moved, and should reproduce the organisation which the literature of that period leads us to imagine. But it does not; it recalls little unless perhaps a section from one of St. Paul's earlier Epistles (1 Cor. xii.–xiv.), which section is by no means typical.

The *Didache*, in fact, intrudes into Church history only to confuse what, apart from it, though at points unexplained, might seem fairly consecutive and comprehensible. The *Didache* does not explain—it introduces a new problem.

LECTURE II

THE DIDACHE: ITS AUTHORITY

For the consideration of Ministry in relation to Charismata much, as has been said, will depend upon the value assigned to the tract known as the *Didache*, or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." A large literature has gathered round the subject and a remarkable research has been brought to its illustration: one may believe that pending the discovery of new sources, which is always possible and in these days hardly improbable, the available material for discussion has been brought within reach. I pretend only to offer the impression made upon my own mind by its consideration. If these impressions are in the direction of a doubt whether the document adds much to our knowledge of primitive conditions, or need be allowed to sway our judgment far from the conclusions which apart from it we might have reached, I am encouraged by the farther impression that the trend of more recent criticism is towards such doubt.

The *Didache* is known to us only from a single manuscript, and that of the eleventh century. We are entirely ignorant of the history of the earlier manuscript from which the copyist Leo, "notary and Sinner," worked. The contents of the document seem to be highly complex. Even such a critic as

Professor Bartlet, who ascribes to it "real organic unity"[1] and claims that we should assent to Harnack, when he bids us "acquiesce in the assumption of the integrity of the writing," himself subjects it to a searching analysis, and probably means that in its final shape as it has reached us there is nothing inconsistent with the probability that a single mind has revised it and has aimed to guard against obvious discrepancy. It is more difficult to agree with Harnack in discovering "unity of style and language as well as of feeling" as marking it as a whole, or in limiting suspicion of later additions to some passages in the first chapter. The document seems to be rather the result of repeated accretions and modifications.[2]

The *Didache* is best considered as consisting of two distinct parts: (1) cc. I.–V. and (2) cc. VI.–XVI.[3] The first of these is a version (interpolated) of an undoubtedly primitive tract. This announces itself as the *didache* (that is to say, the practical inference) derived in the first place from the Sum of the Law, stated as follows: *Firstly, thou shalt love God who made thee; secondly, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;* and, farther, from the Golden Rule stated negatively: *Whatsoever thou wouldst not have done*

[1] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol., p. 439 *a*.

[2] "Of composite character."—Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, p. 172.

[3] On this, see P. Drew's "Apostellehre" in Von Hennecke's *Neutest. Apocr.*, Tübingen, 1904. He sums up, p. 187: "The hypothesis of the independence of the first part is practically no hypothesis, but a certainty."

to thyself, do not thou either to another. It contains, however, no *didache* of the first precept of the Sum of the Law, which enjoins love to God, but confines itself to a rule of ethics between man and man, presented under the ancient form of the Two Ways of life and of death, familiar to us from both Old and New Testaments.[1] This tract of the *Two Ways*, older by far than the document which has incorporated it, seems to have existed at first as "a manual of instruction for the initiation of proselytes into the Synagogue"; it was Jewish before it was Christian.[2] We cannot expect direct evidence of its existence in a written form at this stage, but that it did so exist is hardly doubtful. In its Christian form it presents the appearance of a revisal; a revisal not of verbal tradition, but of a text. For if the matter of it had passed from Jewish into Christian use by an oral process of transmission by Hebrew converts to Christianity, it would necessarily have received in the process a general and continuous Christian colouring. Its Jewish character would have been currently modified as it passed

[1] Deut. xi. 26 ff. and xxx. 1, 15, 19; Prov. ii.; Isa. lv. 8, 9; St. Matt. vii. 13, 14; 2 St. Peter, ii. 15, etc.

[2] Immediately on the appearance of the *Didache*, Massebieau (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Sept.–Oct., 1884: quoted Hitchcock and Brown, p. lxxviii.) had suggested that "traces of teaching intended for Jewish proselytes" were discernible in it. Mr. Taylor (1886) followed up the suggestion and extended its scope. It was accepted by Harnack (1895) and has been worked out to something like demonstration by Dr. Köhler (*Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. iv. *sub voce*).

fluid through Christian minds and was delivered by Christian lips; the adaptation to Christian use would not have shown itself by mere interpolation or by an occasional verbal phrase; no large section could have remained in unaltered Jewish shape. As it is, much of the *Two Ways* seems to have been adopted from the Jewish source without alteration. The original reviser had before him a Jewish original in documentary form and worked over it.[1]

In its Christian form the tract of the *Two Ways* had early and extensive currency. It was in the hands of Barnabas (A.D. 71–130), who embodies much of it in his Epistle.[2] It was known to Hermas (A.D. 140–150). It is quoted by Clement of Alexandria apparently as "Scripture." The *Apostolic Canons* (A.D. *c.* 300) contain its earlier portion. Its existence as a distinct and separate writing has been made practically certain by the discovery (Schlecht, 1900) of a Latin version, of which only a fragment (cc. I.–II. 6 *a*) had previously been known. This version covers *Didache* cc. I.–VI., which thus appears as an independent document, to which later matter (cc. VII.–XVI.) has been appended to form our *Didache*. It is scarcely necessary to discuss the alternative theory[3] that the *Two Ways* is an abbreviation of the *Didache*, formed by dropping

[1] An interesting attempt in parts to reconstruct this appears in Mr. Turner's *Studies in Early Church History*.

[2] Mr. Turner thinks that Barnabas dealt with the Jewish original unmodified.

[3] See Bartlet, Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, pp. 449–50.

later sections when these became obsolete, while the earlier ethical matter was retained for the instruction of catechumens. The only support for this is that Athanasius speaks of a *διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων* as used with some other non-canonical books, received by custom from the fathers, for that purpose, and that the latter part of the *Didache* could not have been so used. The passage is sufficiently explained if we suppose that (as the Latin version, if Bartlet's date for it, fourth century, is near the truth, suggests) the original *Two Ways* unextended was in some form still in circulation, and that this is the *Διδαχή* to which Athanasius refers. The theory of abbreviation is negatived by the fact that separate recensions of the *Two Ways* seem to have existed long before Athanasius wrote. Of these at least two are discernible, represented respectively by the Latin and by *Didache* I.–VI., the Latin being probably the nearer to the Jewish original, and having more in common with the text underlying the *Apostolic Canons*.

The section *Didache* I. 3 *b*–II. 1 appears in neither the Latin nor in the Canons, and is unknown to Barnabas; it is an entirely Christian interpolation, based on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, from which it unconsciously adopts the plural form of address, instead of the singular which characterises the *Two Ways* proper, and to which after one or two sentences there is a return. There is nothing to mark as late its date of insertion—it may be based on oral tradition of the sayings which it

embodies rather than upon the text of existing Gospels, or upon sources lying behind these Gospels as well. It was certainly known to Hermas, as appears from a comparison of *Didache* I. 5 with *Mand.* II. 4–6.[1] The section corrects the excessive Judaic emphasis on the negative side of morals; any Christian adapter must have felt the need—and it seems probable that a recension containing this interpolation was from the early part of the second century in circulation side by side with texts, such as that of the Latin version, which did not contain it.

It is important to have in view that the antiquity of the tract of the *Two Ways* is undoubted, and that its inclusion in the *Didache* supplies no evidence of the date of the farther matter which the *Didache* also contains. The second main part of the *Didache*, cc. VI.–XVI., is closely followed throughout by Book VII. of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, a work probably of the latter part of the fourth century, and there is no earlier evidence for this section. Barnabas has been said to show consciousness of it, the ground for this being that while the *Didache* says (XVI. 2 *b*): "For the whole time of your faith shall not profit you, except ye be perfected in the last time," Barnabas says (IV. 9): "For nothing will the whole time of our life and faith profit us, if now in the lawless time and impending offences we do not resist as becometh sons of God." But

[1] Mr. Bartlet points out that there is less evidence for *Didache* II. 3–4; but the phrases are almost entirely Dominical, and afford the less means of identification.

(1) the coincidence is far from close; (2) the phraseology which is common to both passages is ordinary and might be found anywhere; (3) the idea common to the two passages is current in Christian literature: "In whatsoever things I may find you, in this will I also judge you"[1] (compare St. Matt. xxiv. 48; Heb. x. 35–9); (4) the passage as in the *Didache* occurs in a section which is probably an independent apocalyptic document which might be quoted by more than one writer[2]—in any case the reflection which it contains is one which is likely to have been a Christian commonplace; (5) if these be quotations, the *Didache* may quote from Barnabas, not Barnabas from the *Didache*—Harnack considers that the *Didache* does here borrow from Barnabas.

The matter of these chapters appears to be a compilation of which the parts are loosely articulated and the sequence is sometimes confused. It deals with *Ascetic Practice, Baptism, Ritual Fasting, Prayer, "the Eucharist," Persons who "come," First Fruits, the Lord's Day* (and again in this connection the Eucharist), *the Appointment of Bishops and Deacons*, concluding with an exhortation to *Amity*. This matter is framed between (1) a short section designed to link it on to the tract of the *Two Ways* and (2) a short apocalyptic section, with which the *Didache* ends.

It is possible that the first addition made to the *Two Ways* tract was based upon a document dealing with Sacrament and Ministry, which may lie behind

[1] Justin, *Dial. with Trypho*, c. 47. [2] See note, p. 36.

cc. VII., XIV. and XV. of the *Didache*. Read consecutively, these chapters may be thought to show a similarity in treatment of subject and to balance each other with appropriate emphasis on each ordinance; the subject of Baptism then leads naturally to that of the Eucharist, which in turn brings in the topic of the Lord's Day in proper connection; and c. XV., dealing with the appointment of bishops and deacons, then follows in logical sequence, XV. 1 *b*–2 being in that case interpolation by a final reviser.

Into this again there may seem to have been made successive interpolations, or one extensive interpolation of a number of fragments. Chap. VIII., dealing as it does with fasting and the use of the Lord's Prayer, has no proper place where it stands between directions for the two sacraments : whoever placed it there had somewhat to say about fasting, and saw his opportunity to say it where fasting is mentioned in connection with Baptism. The inclusion of the Lord's Prayer almost compels the inference that this insertion is late. The cc. IX. and X. are peculiar even in the *Didache*, and stand by themselves. They declaredly introduce matter from an independent source; the prayers of which they mainly consist are supposed to be standard and current. They have been worked over in a Christian sense, but are probably Jewish in origin, and one of them is found in another connection.[1] The adapter of

[1] With modification; as a benediction before breaking bread: Pseud. Athan., *De Virginitate*, c. 13.

these prayers does not seem to be the same with the general editor of the *Didache*, as the latter does not use the Fourth Gospel, to which the prayers are much indebted.[1] As they are introduced their sequence and reference are extremely obscure, so much so as to be almost unintelligible. It is impossible to say to what it is that they are intended to be applicable, to an Agape or to the Eucharist.[2] While they are announced as *περὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας*, they contain no reference to things eucharistic—to our Lord's Death or Sacrifice, to Atonement, or to the Bread and Wine as related, symbolically or otherwise, to our Lord's Body and Blood. It is incredible that these prayers should have been composed, and almost equally incredible that they should have been used, for celebration of the Sacrament. The order of consecration is "First the Cup," an order unknown to Christian practice,[3] and this is curiously and unnecessarily emphasised. The direction suggests, as Dr. Bigg has indicated, a

[1] For a list of Johannine phrases occurring in them, see Harnack, *Prolegomena*, p. 79, abbreviated Hitchcock and Brown, p. lxxvii.

[2] Allen says that it is the Agape which is described: *Christian Institutions*, p. 518.

[3] The statement to the contrary based on St. Luke xxii. 17 and on 1 Cor. x. 11 cannot be supported. St. Luke mentions two cups, one of them in the Passover, the other in its normal place in the institution. St. Paul, though for some subjective reason he mentions in 1 Cor. x. the Cup before the Bread, follows the usual order, Bread and Cup, when he recounts the Institution and prescribes practice (chap. xi. 23–8, where he repeats the enumeration of the elements in this order four times).

purposeful effort to be archaic, based on a mistaken recollection of St. Luke's narrative; it is not natural to the reviser, for at the end of the chapter he slips back into the order which is really habitual to his mind: "Eat and drink of your Eucharist." A third prayer is given as Thanksgiving after reception, but concludes with what seems rather a call to receive, recalling as it does the *ἁγία ἁγίοις*, which in the Liturgies precedes communion. I find myself unable to believe that we have here a genuine account of the sacramental service at any stage of its history. That history, however obscure along tracts of its course, is at certain points clear: in the Gospels; in St. Paul's account in 1 Corinthians; in the references of the Ignatian Epistles [1]; in Justin Martyr [2]; and in the Liturgies. These points, separated as they are, lie in one line; they witness to a single conception of the ordinance common to them, which is not that of the *Didache* IX.–X., and to an order of its celebration which is common to them, but is not that of the *Didache*. On the other hand, c. XIV., which also deals with the Eucharist, is not necessarily discordant with St. Paul, Ignatius, Irenaeus or the Liturgies; there the Eucharist is "our sacrifice," and the commonplace quotation, Mal. i. 11, is applied to it. The inference, as already suggested, may be that the final editor had before him a document in which c. XIV. was consecutive to c. VII., or perhaps to

[1] *Ad Ephes.* v., *Ad Rom.* vii., *Ad Philad.* iv., *Ad Smyrn.* vii.
[2] *First Apol.* lxv.–lxvii.; *Dial. Tryph.* lxx., cxvii.

c. X., if a previous hand, as is possible, had already inserted c. VIII. and cc. IX.–X.; that he had matter on prophets to be introduced somewhere, and saw his opportunity where the fixity of liturgical thanksgiving suggested the prophetic liberty of prayer, "Permit the prophets to give thanks, *ὅσα θέλουσιν*": which he states, in contrast to the prescribed form of c. X.; and having thus brought in the mention of prophets, he proceeds to hang upon it the passage for which he required a connection; finally, having found a place for this material, he goes on at c. XIV. with his original source, and finishes with an apocalyptic fragment.[1]

Here, however, we are in the region of mere conjecture. There may have been one editor or more than one. The process of accretion may have been gradual. The ordinances document may have been early appended to the *Two Ways*, and interpolations upon it may have come as a later development in other hands. It is possible that, as suggested by Mr. Taylor and approved by Dr. Salmon, and tentatively approved by Rabbi Köhler (*Jewish Encyclopedia*), some Jewish source of the same nature as that which underlies the original *Two Ways*—intended for the instruction of proselytes, but now in matters of ceremonial law—is somewhere

[1] Drews thinks that this c. XVI. of the *Didache* was probably the original conclusion of the Jewish *Tract of the Two Ways*. This chapter, if appended to cc. I.–VI., would agree with the size of 200 Stichoi, which Nicephorus ascribes to the *Didache*—a size too small for the *Didache* of Bryennios and too large for its cc. I.–VI.

behind this later part of the *Didache* also, determines its arrangement and to some extent has supplied its matter; or perhaps is rather behind the sources which may have been used to complete the *Didache*. It is difficult on any other supposition to understand, for example, such treatment as Baptism receives in c. VII., where the only preparation of the Catechumen is the delivery to him of the ethical rule of the *Two Ways* ("Having first declared all these things, baptise ye," etc.); there is no suggestion of any requirement of belief, and no consciousness of any spiritual condition to be sought in the person to be baptised; the interest is wholly in the ritual rule to be applied—the source of the water used, its temperature and the mode of its application. One can conceive a reviser who had before him a Jewish rule for the Baptism of proselytes producing this chapter by some simple process of correction from Jewish terms; but it is difficult to imagine any Christian teacher, however Judaistic in temper, as producing it at first hand and spontaneously. But the fact that the whole is a result of compilation is much clearer than the method or order in which it has been compiled.

Since its discovery and publication the tendency has generally been to treat the *Didache* with respect, to assume it as "a genuine fragment of the earliest tradition of the Church," [1] and to consent to its

[1] Taylor, *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, app., p. 118. Rawlinson, *Foundations*, p. 369 *n.*, is content to say of it that "most critics assign it to about A.D. 100."

being dated somewhere about the end of the first or beginning of the second century; with the inferences that Church history for the earlier period must be rewritten, and that our ideas of the Church life of that time must be recast, and in particular that theories of ministry must be henceforth based on a distinction between a charismatic ministry, originally supreme, and an appointed ministry, at first of negligeable importance, but developing to supplant the charismatic. Persons who have ventured to hint a doubt of these conclusions or to obstruct the assumptions which underlie them have been exposed to a certain severity of construction, and their difficulties have been traced to dogmatic prepossession and even to incapacity.[1] Dogmatic prepossession unfortunately is not confined to any one school of criticism, and incapacity to estimate evidence has various causes. It is better to assume the *bona fides* of those from whom we differ, else the work of scholarship is at an end. "For some reason the *Didache* has been the spoilt child of criticism. Here and here only suspicion has slept, and instead of the facts proving the youth of the book, the book has been held to show the age of the facts."[2] Where Dr. Bigg says this he is commenting on the number of points "which

[1] *E. g.*, P. Drews, *ut supra*, p. 187: "That it is a composition later than A.D. 160 is not entertained to-day by any one capable of judgment." Thus by establishing terror the Teuton still secures his communications in other fields than the military.

[2] Bigg, *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, Introd. p. 21.

[he says] in the case of any other document would certainly have been thought to indicate a late origin."

There have, however, always been the sceptical. So soon as 1887 Mr. C. H. Turner had deprecated "the disposition to see in it (the *Didache*) the only clue to the solution of all problems," and had also deprecated Harnack's apparent belief that it "preserves the only trustworthy picture of the early Christian Ministry outside of the First Epistle to the Corinthians and the Shepherd of Hermas," notwithstanding the existence of much else (the Epistle to the Ephesians, the Pastoral Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle of St. Clement, the Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp) which was passed over in comparative silence in the interests of a writing maintained by Harnack himself to be later than any of them.[1] For Harnack has never agreed with those who throw back the date of the *Didache* to the neighbourhood of A.D. 100, and at the time when Mr. Turner wrote assigned it to A.D. 135–165. Mr. Turner desired to throw back the date, but also required that the deference paid to the *Didache* should be much less unconditional, and especially contended that being as he thought "a *réchauffé* of a purely Jewish Manual" not much stress could be laid on its negative evidence.

In his *Church and Ministry*, 1888, Dr. Gore also

[1] *Church Quarterly Review.* As Mr. Turner has lately republished this article, he probably adheres to the views there expressed.

discussed the *Didache*. He accepted for it a very early date and has not since on that point modified his opinion. He considered it to be Jewish-Christian and to lie within the first century, surmising for its place of origin "an out-of-the-way district," for which he latterly substitutes Egypt. He parallels the community from which it may be supposed to issue with that to which the Epistle to the Hebrews is addressed, and thinks it may best be characterised as representing the beliefs of a Jewish Christianity as yet unleavened by the deeper "teaching of the Apostles," which was to follow the early preaching of the Messiahship of Jesus. Dr. Gore's attitude in 1909 (*Orders and Unity*) seems less favourable. He there speaks of the *Didache* as "generally attributed to sub-apostolic times"; the references to wandering missionaries he finds "redolent of fraud": "One experiences [he says] a profound unwillingness to believe—what we have no evidence of elsewhere—that the apostles and prophets and teachers of the New Testament were represented in the next generation, in the age of Clement and Ignatius, by men of this ambiguous reputation," and he declines to believe it. "It seems more probable that we have here to do with the wandering missionaries of some Judaic Christian sect of uncertain epoch. But in any case we ought not to allow the authority of this ambiguous and anonymous document to countervail the testimony of St. Luke and St. Paul in his later letters and St. Clement." Dr. Gore,

then, it may be understood, accepts the *Didache* as of early, though of uncertain, epoch and as genuine, but considers it to be of small value as evidence.

Dr. Moberly's treatment (*Ministerial Priesthood*, 1897) is of much the same nature. While he accepts for the *Didache* an early date, he points out that "as a Jewish Manual and concerned with Christianity" it is not and could not have been of high authority in the Church, and speaks of immense deductions to be made from its value as being local, anonymous, and in some respects ignorant: "in no case a particularly intelligent or authoritative interpreter of the ecclesiastical phenomena which it reflects."

Of recent years more sweeping attacks upon the authority of the *Didache* have appeared, calling in question its genuineness. In 1910 the late Dr. Bigg (Christ Church, Oxford) issued a short but brilliant *Introduction* [1] to a translation of the text, in which he points out that it cannot be identified with the works mentioned by Eusebius or Athanasius or Rufinus or Nicephorus. He agrees with Harnack [2] that the *Didache* quotes from Hermas (A.D. 140–165) and therefore is of course later than Barnabas. He argues that Clement of Alexandria quotes, not as has been thought from the *Didache*,

[1] *Early Church Classics* series, S.P.C.K.

[2] Harnack has come to think that Hermas and the *Didache* borrow from a common source (see Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 99). Dr. Bigg in a postscript deals with this change of view and seems to make a good case for the previous view. In either case Hermas does not quote from the *Didache*.

but from the *Apostolic Church Order*. He gives reason for thinking that the compiler of the *Didache* had this last-named document before him and used its text, the A.C.O. being (Harnack says) in its relevant section "not later than A.D. 230." From the precept "Fast for your enemies" he believes that the *Didache* presupposes the Didascalia and a late stage of the Quarto-Deciman controversy, which would carry the *Didache* well down into the third century. He enumerates a number of indications of late date, of which the stress laid upon persecution of Christians by Christians, the absence of reference to persecution of Christians by Pagans, and the fact that Baptism by aspersion is regarded not only as valid but as entirely satisfactory, whereas in Cyprian's time it was still an irregularity and a bar to ordination, may seem the strongest. The word χριστέμπορος (*Didache* XII. 5) Dr. Bigg finds to be "a current fourth-century bye-word," in itself enough to date the book. (The lateness of this word is indeed admitted[1] and can only be explained by supporters of the early date of the text by postulating interpolation of the section in which it occurs —a suggestion for which there is no apparent ground except the inconvenience of the occurrence). Dr. Bigg concludes that the belief is justified that the *Didache* "did not exist as a book before the fourth century." He regards Dr. Harnack's theory of double ministry as "in its extreme form quite untenable," comments upon the vagueness of the

[1] Bartlet, in Hastings' *Dict. of Bible*, p. 448 *a*.

Didache's supposed Hierarchy, contrasts the prophets of the New Testament with those of the *Didache* and finds that it does not seem possible to regard the one as even a successor in title of the other—there is "a resuscitation rather than an imitation." He thinks that if the *Didache* ever had a local habitation, that might be looked for in Montanistic Phrygia, possibly as a protest against the Julian persecution. Dr. Bigg's evidences of late date may not be all of equal cogency, but cumulatively they go far to show that the place of the *Didache* in the series of Christian documents should be looked for at least *after* the Apostolic Church Order—that is to say in the third, if not in the fourth century.

Two years ago Dr. Armitage Robinson published [1] an investigation of the problem of the *Didache* from the point of view of the writer's relation to St. Paul, St. John and St. Luke: an investigation which leads him to the conclusion that the work is a deliberate construction, in which the writings of these authors have been used, while the author has been at pains to conceal his obligation to them. He has designed, Dr. Robinson thinks, to present his views in such a way that apostolic authority may be alleged for each detail, and so his title ("Teaching of the Twelve Apostles") be justified; but at the same time has veiled his indebtedness to them by a process of combination of passages and of verbal modification in such a manner that an

[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1912.

appearance of independent tradition may be presented. "In attempting to interpret it [he says] we must constantly remember that two elements are everywhere present: the writer's desire to say nothing that might not be supposed to have been said by the apostles, and his desire to issue instructions which should have some bearing on the Church life of his day. It is just because he has combined these elements so skilfully that we cannot either date or locate him." To the apostles, prophets and teachers of the *Didache* Dr. Robinson can find no parallel in any part of the Church: the more he considers them he finds them increasingly unreal. They are derived from St. Paul's lists—a shadowy figure of the "apostle" being introduced because St. Paul mentions apostles, and something therefore must be said of them; while the "teacher" is perfunctorily mentioned for the same reason. The "prophet" alone bears some character of reality, and of him the author exhibits a certain awe. The directions as to bishops and deacons are a careful construction from references found in St. Paul and St. Luke. With the apocalyptic section Dr. Robinson does not deal; he does not attempt to be exhaustive, but indicates a method[1] which, in

[1] The starting-point of the author has, in Dr. Robinson's view, been a version of the *Two Ways*, into which he has interpolated the section peculiar to the *Didache* (I. 3 *b*–II. 1 *a*) mainly from the Sermon on the Mount, but modified from St. Luke's parallel matter. Having reached Baptism, his task demands "more originality,"[2] but the basis of clause after clause is still identifiable. His method of introducing his sequence of topics

his opinion, the author of the *Didache* has certainly used and which he thinks has been strangely overlooked. As for what is not traceable to apostolic writings, such as the kinds of water used in Baptism, the bi-weekly fast, the prayers thrice a day and the professional prophet,—these " may be regarded as positive features characteristic of the writer's situation." Dr. Robinson notes that his investigation is independent of Dr. Bigg's, whose work he had not seen before writing, and that it follows a different reasoning. He does not go with Dr. Bigg in looking for the date of the *Didache* in the fourth century, as he would find it hard to conceive that it was written after Montanism had attained any considerable vogue : from the Catholic standpoint too much is said in it about prophets, and from the Montanistic too little. It will be seen, however, that while Dr. Armitage Robinson differs from Dr. Bigg as to date, he agrees with him in regarding the *Didache* as a purposeful and conscious construction. It is possible that in one or two points he is

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(περὶ δὲ . . .) is traced to St. Paul's use of the same in 1 Cor. Modifications such as " fast (instead of ' pray ') for them which persecute you," and the variations from the recorded forms of the Lord's Prayer are treated as literary devices to suggest independence, and the abnormal order of the Eucharistic acts as " literary perversity "—one presumes for the same motive. Κλάσμα is considered to be an invented term derived from the κλάσματα of St. John vi. 12–13, just as the Johannine ὕδωρ ζῶν is utilised for the description of Baptism. The Eucharistic prayers Dr. Robinson finds to be full of echoes of St. Paul and St. John.

inclined to push his method to the verge of ingenuity.[1] Nevertheless he employs a method of true critical efficiency, and his results seem to demand consideration and refutation before they can be set aside. When he thinks that the position accorded in the *Didache* to the "prophet" is insufficient to fit except into an early stage of Montanism, it may seem that he so far forgets his own thesis and allows too little for the literary imagination which he has ascribed to the writer of the *Didache*. So skilful a person as Dr. Robinson would show him to be might well be skilful enough to avoid the too much, and though himself an advanced Montanist might be content to assume less if thereby he might maintain a certain air of detached ingenuousness and show "the Twelve Apostles" in fundamental agreement with the position which he sought to reinforce. He may have appreciated the value of suggestiveness. On such a theory of his motive the reception accorded to his work on its rediscovery would certainly show that he had gauged with accuracy the point to which suggestion might advantageously be carried. Dr. Armitage Robinson's essential conclusion is that the writer "disguises the actual conditions of his own time," with the result that "he contributes almost nothing except doubtful exegesis to advance our knowledge of the early Christian ministry"; and

[1] For example, in thinking that the description of "prophets" as "your high priests," is a reminiscence of the prophesying of Caiaphas (St. John xi. 51) in virtue of his high-priesthood.

that, if even half of his (Dr. A. Robinson's) argument be admitted, "the pen must be drawn through many a sentence and indeed through whole pages of some recent descriptions of early Christian life and organisation."

This investigation elicited from Professor Swete an additional note appended to his *Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church* (1912), in which he refers to it as "claiming the serious attention of all students of early Christian literature." He does not think that on the evidence adduced Dr. Robinson's charges are proved. He admits that the writer of the *Didache* is more or less the author of the forms which are provided and of some of the rules—that "in fact the constantly recurring imperatives imply that the writer desires to impress upon the Church . . . a certain order of ritual and discipline such as he himself approves"; but declines to agree that the general conditions of Church life presupposed "had no real existence anywhere, that the whole picture has been artfully constructed out of scattered hints in the New Testament." Absence of apparent motive specially influences Dr. Swete to this judgment; he asks what motive could lead to the resuscitation of the title of "apostles" and what purpose the "apparently futile ingenuity" of the writer could have been intended to serve; and until such a motive has been suggested Dr. Swete will continue to regard the *Didache* as "an honest attempt to legislate for an unknown and probably obscure Church which still received

visits from itinerant missionaries and prophets and where from time to time a prophet settled down, and ministered side by side with the local presbyter-bishops and deacons."

If this, however, is all that on a favourable construction remains to be said for the value of the *Didache*, it is not much. The attempt to legislate which it embodies, is in Dr. Swete's own view merely that of an individual, and therefore is not legislation, but is only an attempt to lead—it is the expression of a personal view. It attempts to persuade, not by frank counsel, but by the presentation as of apostolic prescription or tradition of forms and rules which are the writer's own composition—some of them at least, Dr. Swete would freely grant, are no more than that. This presentation is not carried off as sincere by any conviction habitual to Christian societies that current practices were necessarily apostolic [1]—in a document subsequent to the *Apostolic Church Order* we are hardly in so primitive an atmosphere as that; and in any case it is granted that other than current practice is sought to be introduced, and that for these novel practices sanction and authority is sought by the title under which they are offered and by appending the writing which prescribes them to a received Manual of wide acceptance (the *Two Ways*) which Clement of Alexandria quotes as "Scripture." Dr. Swete would seem to leave

[1] Bartlet, Hastings' *Dict. of Bible*, p. 445 *a*.

the *Didache* in a position not much better than that assigned to it by Dr. Bigg or by Dr. Robinson.

I venture to suggest some further considerations which make generally in the same direction of doubt. Itinerants, prophets or apostles or teachers, cannot come even to the obscurest or least known of Churches without coming from somewhere. This question of the *provenance* of itinerants seems to have been somewhat overlooked. To supply them and to keep them occupied in itineration, one must suppose other Churches of the same type of organisation; and these must be supposed to exist in some considerable number—for the "apostle" at least, as contemplated in the *Didache*, might remain at most only two nights in any one of them. This unfortunate man had to overtake at least three Churches in every week, twelve to fifteen per month; unless the communities in question were fairly plentiful and well spread the visits of the same person must have recurred with such frequency that he might as well have imitated the example of his fellow the prophet and have "settled" at once. If there were many apostles on the road at the same time it is not wonderful that there should have been regulation to limit demands on their part. Now one such Church as the *Didache* contemplates might easily remain unknown to us; but if such Churches were numerous and widespread, and so federated that a field for legislation as to their interaction existed, it is practically certain that we should have heard otherwise of their

existence. The case is not met by supposing, as in various phrase is frequently supposed, Dr. Swete's "unknown and obscure Church," Drew's "Dorfgemeinde," as the source of the *Didache;* for the *Didache* itself implies a far-flung system of similar Churches. When or where is such a system to be found?

Conceivably it may be found within the range of Montanism; scarcely elsewhere or at any earlier time. Montanism—and Montanism alone—would supply what it is essential to discover, a field wide enough for such a circulation of ministers as the *Didache* at least imagines. "There are many Montanist features in the *Doctrine.*"[1] Those which seem to the present writer to stand out most clearly are (1) the indications of locality; (2) the nature of the references to persecution; (3) the peculiar interest shown in the "prophet."

(1) The local colouring of the *Didache* is agricultural, and Phrygia, the home of Montanism, was

[1] Bigg, *op. cit.*, p. 41. There existed latterly more types of Montanism than one; it came to include considerable variety (see Swete, *Holy Spir. in the Anc. Church*, p. 81). A document may be Montanistic, though it does not show all the characteristic features of the Montanism of Montanus, or though it shows other features. It is objected, for example, that the prophet of the *Didache* was always a man—that prophetesses are not so much as considered; whereas in Montanism prophetesses had a place. But Tertullian was a Montanist when he wrote (*De Virg. Vel.* 9): "It is not permitted to a woman to speak in Church nor yet to teach"; and after all we hear in the accounts of Montanism of "only two women who were moved by the Spirit" (Harnack, *Encyc. Brit.*, p. 758 *a*).

essentially an agricultural region.[1] To the thought of its author the bread which is broken in the Eucharist has been sown and reaped on "mountains"[2] (*Didache* IX. 4), and Phrygia is a land of mountains. The life which he has in mind is village life—he has no thought of commerce—his gain is from his field; nor of industry or manufacture; even his loaf is home-baked; his increase is of winepress and threshing-floor and oil-vat and loom. So Montanism was primarily a village cult; it originated in a land of villages to which Pepuza and Vicinium (let us say for comparison Inverness and Dingwall) could seem eligible as world centres. Montanism had bishops even in villages.[3] Phrygia at least suits well as a home for the *Didache*.

(2) Where else is it possible to look for persecution of Christians by Christians, "the sheep turned into wolves and love into hatred," brethren hating and persecuting and delivering up one another (*Didache* XVI. 3–4)? The particular language here depends upon well-known Scriptures[4] and is such

[1] Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, pp. 190–1.

[2] This phrase may be one of the writer's improvements on the Jewish Benediction underlying his prayer; it does not occur in the version of the prayer which appears in *De Virginitate*. On the other hand it *is* found in the eucharistic prayers of Serapion, who ministered in the Delta of the Nile. See Arm. Robinson, *ut supra*, p. 347.

[3] Sozomen, vii. 19: καὶ ἐν κώμαις.

[4] Acts xx. 29: "Grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock" (comp. St. Matt. vii. 15); St. Matt. xxiv. 10: "Many shall be offended . . . and shall hate one another"; *ibid.*, x. 21: "Brother shall deliver up brother to death . . . and ye shall be hated of all . . . and when they persecute you. . . ."

as might be expected in any similar apocalyptic passage; but it is less clear at what period earlier than the latter part of the second century, or then where else than in Phrygia, the idea of such things, as within the Christian Society, would have suggested itself.[1] Possibly, as Dr. Bigg thinks, the later stages of Montanist history (Constantine's persecution) may best fit the situation described; but we are not driven down so far to find a setting for it—hostility to Montanism did not begin with Constantine; there is persecution which stops short of fire and sword and yet is persecution, and there is hatred which has not proceeded to the last extremity; language almost as strong as that of *Didache* XVI. has been known to be used where the aggrieved parties had less to complain of than had Montanists of the time before the Great Peace of the Catholic Church. Any time after the Asiatic bishops' condemnation (*c.* A.D. 172) might be possible: certainly where intercourse with Montanists, even while Catholic and Montanist were alike sufferers from the Pagans, was refused, or when Montanist Baptism went unrecognised. There remains, so far as that goes, large room for the *Didache* within the ambit of Montanism.

(3) The interest of the *Didache* is not in charis-

[1] Maximilla, the Montanist prophetess, complained of being hunted like a wolf from the sheep, and protested that she was no wolf. The Catholic opponents of Montanism were called slayers of prophets; Euseb., *H. E.*, v. 16. There seems to be something common to the vocabulary here and to that of *Didache* XVI.

mata generally; there is on the contrary a marked absence of "charismatic enthusiasm" [1] in its tone, which rather is legalistic to the point of flat Judaism: it is a book of the letter, not of the Spirit. The section relating to ministries (cc. XI.–XV.) is not really concerned with the supposed hierarchy of St. Paul's lists (apostle, prophet, teacher), but with only one of these, namely the prophet. To the apostles are allotted only four brief sentences; the first of them is a somewhat perfunctory paraphrase of Christ's words (St. Matt. x. 40): "He that receiveth you receiveth Me"; the second forgets that the apostle is the subject and alludes to him as a prophet; while the third and fourth take precaution against the too probable case that he is a pseudo-apostle. As for the teacher he is no more than mentioned. It is the prophet who occupies nearly the whole of the section which deals with the treatment of charismatic persons. Of the apostle it is only prescribed that he is to be received reverently, must go within two days and may carry away no more than bread sufficient for his next stage: and of the teacher nothing but that he must follow the *Didache* already recounted and may receive, if he settle, his maintenance. When the prophet enters we have something like a genuine interest; the subject is elaborated—as to the judging of the prophet, so far as allowed—as to the tests which may legitimately be applied to him—as to his relation to the Agape or Eucharist, which-

[1] Batiffol, *Primitive Catholicism*, p. 106.

ever is meant—as to his inconsistency, his use of "signs," the objects for which he may collect; as to his possible settlement, and minutely as to his right to firstfruits; and (at a previous point, c. X. 7) his liturgic privilege, whatever that may have been.

It is difficult to conceive that we are here in a primitive atmosphere. The Evangelistic note, the missionary unction and the earnestness of a missionary Church are conspicuously, almost ludicrously, absent. The missionary proper ("apostle") is there in his office only to be shuffled on to someone else's hands as quickly as a very bare decency allows. He is not even thought of as a missionary—the Pagan world to which he might be supposed to have mission is entirely out of mind. "The Gospel" suggested in connection with him is not a message of good which he carries to the perishing—it is a code for his own proper treatment. He comes in sight, not as an evangelist but as a "teacher" (c. XI. 1–5), and he carries, not salvation for those who are without, but "increase of righteousness and knowledge of the Lord" for the community which receives him (c. XI. 36). The writer has lost sight of the idea of apostleship even in the secondary sense.

The theory of a stage of Church life in which the ministry of charismatic persons should have been pre-eminent, whether supported by historical sources or not, is in itself a consistent theory, and *a priori* it is arguable—that is to say, that it harmonises with a well-marked and respectable type of spiritual

tendency and spiritual experience, and that there is likely to be always a school of Christian thought to which it will seem fundamentally probable. But however that may be, such a theory is not really supported by the *Didache;* the *Didache* does not show a charismatic system—it shows an official and professional prophetism, which is another matter. Are there more quarters than one known to us from which such an interest is likely to have been advocated? The indifference of the *Didache* to apostle evangelist and teacher seems even more significant than its zeal for the prophet; or rather the indifference fills the zeal with significance.

Farther, the conception of the prophet to which the *Didache* witnesses is a degenerate conception, and we must find time for the process of degeneration. At an earlier point not the prophet was regarded, but the prophecy; now the question is of the man—if (to use a Scotticism) he has "the gift," that is enough: to challenge utterance or action of an acknowledged prophet is the gravest form of blasphemy. He is known, not by his message, but by his ways—if he have "the manners (*τοὺς τρόπους*) of the Lord." What the standard intended by this phrase may be is not apparent. One thinks of the Dominical directions to the Twelve (St. Matt. x. 9 ff.); or there may be some esoteric reference which cannot be identified—it can hardly be meant that a commonly Christian conversation is sufficient to warrant prophetic claims, which once admitted are to carry authority unquestionable.

Whatever they are, these "ways," they seem to admit of proceedings which in the case of one who is not a prophet and therefore above criticism might occasion scandal (c. XI. 11: cf. Bigg and Harnack *in loco*). The acceptance of gifts, which Apollonius [1] considered to be a blot upon any prophet, is treated by the *Didache* as a regular incident, and it is even an obligation upon the faithful to render them. We seem to have travelled far here from the days when Hermas drew his distinction between "the prophet of God" and the "empty prophet." [2] Hermas' true prophet is the Christian man who has the Spirit of God, who in common course comes into the congregation as a worshipper with the rest and who, as prayer goes on, receives his inspiration and speaks "as he is moved of God." The true prophet's note is in fact spontaneity and the absence of professionalism. The note of the pseudo-prophet, on the other hand, is his isolation in virtue of prophetic office, his self-exaltation, and his receiving of rewards. It seems probable that Hermas in this expresses not merely a private opinion, but gives voice to the prevailing and current judgment of the Church—for his criticism of the "empty prophet" is in effect that which we find directed against the "new prophet" of a century later. The *Didache*, however, speaks from an environment in which it seemed normal and proper that a prophet should be official, should be isolated from other Christians by possession of "the gift," should be

[1] Euseb., *H. E.*, v. 18. [2] *Mand.* xi. 3.

exalted to the chief seat, should receive rewards on a prescribed scale. We have no great choice of quarters or periods in which to look for such an environment. It is impossible to prove a negative—within the Christian world of any of the first centuries there may have existed such a community as the *Didache* supposes, a community more or less Christian—since within even the first period there could exist such a community as that to which the Epistle to the Hebrews is addressed, and there is nothing to show that it must have been unique. But, as has been said, the *Didache* is not to be satisfied with one such community nor with several, but implies a sect of considerable ramification. It is the need to discover this setting for it which makes it difficult to place the *Didache*. We cannot find room for such a sect within the period covered by the Canonical writings. It does not appear within the world as known to Clement of Rome. It is certainly not within that of Ignatius, and Ignatius is witness for Syria as well as for Asia, and in especial covers with some relevant reference [1] that very tract in which Principal Lindsay thinks it natural that a prophetic reaction should have arisen, since there or in the neighbourhood Christian prophecy had flourished, and there prophetic and local ministries confronted each other as nowhere else [2]; nothing answerable to the apostle or prophet of the *Didache* is to be discovered in Ignatius, unless

[1] *Ad Philad.* vii.

[2] *Church and Ministry in the Early Centuries*, p. 236.

we are to see them in those itinerants against whom he warns,[1] who "carry about the name of Christ in deceitfulness and do things unworthy of God." Nor does Hermas know of any such system of Churches; and with Hermas we are in the eve of the emergence of Montanus.

The surmise of a Montanistic origin for the *Didache* can be so far only surmise; but it has the advantage of allowing for it a certain background of reality which otherwise it is hard to assign. And one may admit that to discover for it such a background is, if possible, desirable. When all is said that makes its *bona fides* uncertain, the *Didache* remains an extremely perplexing document. It has a certain *naïveté* and air of conviction. For a great part of it that is, of course, easily explained—if it be in main a compilation of earlier matter, or is at all a gradual accretion upon a genuine and earlier nucleus, the earlier matter and in measure the accretions would sincerely reflect the temper of their respective periods. But even those sections which on such a view of the matter would still have to be regarded as the work of a final redactor and as expressing the object of his redaction and interpolation (viz. cc. XI.–XIV.), are not without these same characteristics of earnestness and intensity. There may be in the document such marks of artificiality as Dr. Armitage Robinson discovers—I think that there are: it may be as late as Dr. Bigg suggests—which I am not concerned to show; but withal there is an impression

[1] *Ad Ephes.* vii.

conveyed by it that the writer had a system and a cause for which he cared. He may be imaginative —he may use a certain skill to clothe his work with commendatory archaisms; but there is something behind his imagination—he is writing up to certain facts, whatever they be. His reiterations point that way; and it is not easy to account otherwise for the occurrence in a document designed to sustain prophets of so emphatic warning against pseudo-prophets. A certain measure of such precaution would no doubt be in any case appropriate—every one, from Deuteronomy onward, who alludes to prophets has something of the sort to say. But the warnings of the *Didache* are more than conventional; they are earnest. The writer while he exalts prophets knows how little some prophets are to be trusted. He has facts in mind.

Professor Swete desiderates an adequate motive for the construction of such a work as the *Didache*, before he can assent to Dr. Armitage Robinson's results. The supposition of a Montanistic origin, if otherwise consistent with the facts, supplies ample motive; to buttress an opinion men will undertake greater tasks than its composition need have been. It is easy to imagine one of these many village bishops of Phrygia who should be competent for the task—a devout man and earnest, as Montanists often were, in his measure learned, scholarly and adroit in his village way, a man versed in Scripture and a collector of ancient fragments, so far as anything at once ancient and Christian can at that date be spoken of—

familiar with Jewish manuals, liturgic attempts, documents such as the *Two Ways;* a simple man and sincere, without experience of cities, but knowing well the life of his own valleys, its primitive industries, its pious and generous households, its intense religious activity, its circulation of preachers better and worse—one can picture such a man, easily capable of the literary feat and unlikely to be troubled by scruples in executing it; pseudepigraphic writing was not so rare, nor was the literary morality of the time so strained that he should hesitate. It is not wonderful should the *Didache* have been written to fortify a basis for the claims of Montanistic prophecy. But if, having failed in its own time to effect its purpose,[1] it should in the nineteenth century have attained its object, and should then have succeeded in producing very much the impression which on the theory hazarded it was originally intended to produce—that is no doubt remarkable. Possibly, however, it is this which has taken place.

That the *Didache* on its re-discovery should have created this impression and that the impression should have been so generally received was, in part at least, due to circumstances; the discovery was *felix opportunitate.* In his *Dissertation on the Christian Ministry,*[2] Dr. Lightfoot had gone over, if he

[1] The *Didache* is followed in the *Apostolic Constitutions,* but that is done with suppression and modification of the matter which bears upon the prophetic interest.

[2] *Epistles of St. Paul:* Philippians, 1868.

had not occupied, most of the ground covered by more recent discussions, and had indicated, though he had not adopted, the positions which have since been elaborated.[1] Starting from St. Paul's "lists" he had pointed out a distinction of "permanent" and "temporary" ministries, and that "in both passages . . . great stress is laid upon the work of the Spirit."[2] He had remarked upon that missionary character of the lists which Dr. Lindsay has worked out in so illuminative a manner. He had affirmed the inclusion in the lists of the "permanent" ministries, and that this involves (as is now, in modification of the theory of twofold ministry, amply admitted[3]) their charismatic participation. And he had remarked upon the "subordinate place" which what he calls permanent ministries at that stage occupied, and their gradual emergence from such subordination, and that this emergence corresponded to the "falling away" of higher but temporary offices. He had thus traced the lines which a later criticism has followed, and in a manner had anticipated what is valid in its conclusions.

Owing to the remarkable canon by which Dr. Hatch in his Bampton Lecture of 1880 limited his use of available information, "commencing where the New Testament ends," and so depriving himself

[1] "Lightfoot for instance had already anticipated much of the truth"; Bartlet, *H. D. B.*, *sub voce* Didache, p. 450 *a*.

[2] Fourth Edition, p. 185.

[3] Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, p. 70 *n.*; Lowrie, *Church and its Organisation*, pp. 189, 256–7 *n.*; Sohm, quoted Harnack, *Const. and Law of the Church*, trans. p. 194.

of the information afforded by the contemporary literature of the actual origins, that writer had supplied the Church with a ministry tracing to financial and administrative necessities, a ministry of tables, which in his view came by degrees to appropriate to itself a right to execute spiritual functions which had been originally common to believers; Montanism appearing in its now familiar rôle of a reaction against such appropriation.[1] It is only at this point that Dr. Hatch, working under his limitation, meets the idea of charismatic gifts, among which he classes alike "every form of the manifestation of the religious life"; and the ministries of St. Paul's lists do not receive from him mention.[2] In such a treatment of the subject there was an obvious element of impossibility, and it created more interest than conviction. The work was, however, translated into German with *excursus* by Professor Harnack in 1883.

In the same year Bryennios gave to the world his discovery of the *Didache*. It is not wonderful that it should have been welcomed as suggesting redress of the balance which Dr. Hatch's theory had somewhat excessively disturbed. The energy and resource of Professor Harnack were at once turned to its appreciation. He in effect combined the theory of twofold ministry, which Lightfoot, in terms whose

[1] Mr. Hatch points out that Ritschl, Rothe and Bonwetsch had already indicated this view of Montanism: 2nd ed., p. 123 *n*.

[2] Apostles are alluded to, pp. 96, 106, 108, but not prophets, etc.

familiarity gave it the appearance of commonplace, had already stated, with Dr. Hatch's theory of the mundane origin of those ministries which we may call regular; but he distinguished, not as Lightfoot, a temporary and a permanent ministry, but—deriving from the *Didache*—a Charismatic and an Elective; of which the former depended only upon gift, and was oecumenical in scope and in habit ambulatory, while the latter depended upon appointment and was local and subordinate to the charismatic. This reading of the situation was very generally accepted, and until Sohm in 1892 completed the cycle by balancing Hatch's purely mundane theory of the ministry with a theory as purely charismatic may be said in one modification or another to have held the field.

This theory, however, it may be perceived, is not so much deduced from the *Didache* as suggested by it. It certainly cannot rest upon the sources which otherwise have reached us—these did not lead to it and cannot sustain it. The appeal which it can make to the Canonical writings is slight, being really confined to the well-known section of First Corinthians and (with significance read into it from that) to the Epistle to the Ephesians. This theory requires us to accept the Corinthian Church as the norm of Churches, and its interior life as typical of the life of Christian ecclesiae generally. For a generation past, when that primitive life has been visualised and described, it has been in effect a Sunday at Corinth somewhere about the sixth decade of the

first century, which we have been called to imagine.[1] But it is improbable that Corinth was a typical congregation, or that its life was normal; on the contrary, we happen to know much of Corinthian affairs precisely because it was not normal, but was, as in Clement's day a generation later, a difficult, excitable and factious community which exacted from St. Paul a voluminous and detailed correspondence. And apart from Corinth we hear remarkably little of charismata or of charismatic persons as such: nowhere else do we meet such a state of matters as St. Paul had to deal with there. It is at least as probable that Thessalonica, which needed to be warned against despising prophecy, was typical; and indeed it is hard to understand that if Thessalonica was consciously dependent upon a prophetic ministry the warning should have been required. Charismata and charismatic persons occupy a certain place in the earlier part of the Book of Acts, but it is not the place assigned to them by Professor Harnack's theory. That book shows apostles as supreme—which no one has doubted; and it shows them and their companions and delegates as itinerant—which is natural: to itinerate is the *métier* of apostles. But it does not show us prophets who do more than prophesy, nor does it show us prophets who as such itinerate—the solitary instance of Agabus, his passage with a group of other prophets

[1] *E. g.*, Mr. Owen in his Introduction to Harnack's *Sources of the Apostolic Canon*, trans. 1895; or Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, pp. 43 ff.

from Jerusalem to Antioch and his later appearance at Caesarea (on that occasion he only came from Judaea, and one would gather resided at Jerusalem or near it) is slight support; while the mission of Judas and Silas to Antioch with the decrees of the first council is not an instance. The narrative of Acts is so far from placing prophets in the foreground of its picture, that when St. Paul is found grouping them with apostles as "foundations," we are unprepared for the collocation[1]; his meaning has been sought for elsewhere than in the New Testament. St. Luke's narrative nowhere suggests a charismatic organisation independent of ecclesiastical mission, and nowhere suggests a local ministry independent of charismatic qualification. Even the Seven, selected for a purely secular service, are selected as men "full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom" (wisdom being the first in St. Paul's enumeration of spiritual gifts, 1 Cor. xii. 8); while on the other hand, their charismatic qualification has no effect to dispense with their formal ordination to ministry. The Church system presented in the Pastoral Epistles contains no indication of the presence within its purview of a charismatic organisation traversing the regular organisation which these writings assume. Timothy is himself a charismatic—there is "grace in him"; but he has, on the one hand, been selected on qualification (the word of prophecy indicating him for charge), and

[1] Alford takes the reference to be to Old Testament prophets; see his note to Ephes. ii. 20. This is in 1849.

on the other hand, he has been regularly instituted to office, and his possession of charisma is associated with the act of his ordination. There is perceptible no division of spiritual and of administrative function—no ministry confined to the merely judicial or governmental. The conception of double ministry, in Harnack's sense, is equally to seek in the extra-canonical writers of the earlier time; their ignorance of such a system is, in fact, the chief difficulty which such a theory has to conciliate. Had it been otherwise, it is improbable that the theory should have waited for the discovery of the *Didache*.

On the other hand, the theory of twofold ministry can hardly be said to rest on the contents of the *Didache*. Though everything that can be claimed for that document were conceded, it would still be evidence for much less than the theory postulates. It would not, for example, be evidence for any state of matters generally prevalent in the Church; it has been pointed out to us that even St. Clement's Epistle to Corinth can speak only for the Church of its origin [1] and in measure for that of its destination; and the *Didache* could certainly speak for no more, even if, in its case, we were equally assured of what the origin and destination were. It does not really show that prophets are in its scheme essentially or characteristically itinerant, but only that some prophets itinerated. Its apostle certainly itinerates, and it leaves him no room for hesitation

[1] Rawlinson, *Foundations*, p. 419.

on the subject. But if its references to prophets are examined, it will be found that the only definite allusion to mobility on their part is that prescriptions are given for the case of a stranger who proposes to "settle"—any stranger[1]; though the instance of his happening to be a prophet is considered in a sentence at a later point. Such a case is evidently the exceptional,[2] and the rule given (XIII. 1) is not a rule for his settling, but a rule for his recognition as one of a class already resident and possessing certain rights. Residence and not peregrination appears to be a prophet's normal condition.[3]

[1] The section deals with "every one who comes in the name of the Lord"—claiming, that is, hospitality as a Christian from Christians; "if he came with a profession of the Christian faith" (Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, p. 172): the rules are rules for hospitality in general, and not for hospitality to charismatics only. It is, of course, usual to assume that the whole drift of it is to deal with charismatics as such; but c. XII. will not bear that construction. It deals with people who, if they are to eat, must work. A prophet, on the other hand (c. XIII. 1), is worthy of maintenance by the community.

[2] Mr. Lowrie says (*Church and its Organisation*, p. 243 *n.*) that "the prophet is supposed to settle," but plainly it is only supposed that he may do so.

[3] Obviously the "whosoever" of c. XI. 1 covers both the ordinary traveller and the itinerating charismatic. But the charismatic in view is the apostle. At c. XI. 7 we reach the case of the prophet; but of him it is not "every prophet who comes" (as it had been of the apostle), but "every prophet who speaks." At c. XIII. we at last are at the case of the prophet who arrives, desiring recognition as a true prophet and a share with the local prophets who are in possession. These are taken for granted (c. XIII. 3); they are spoken of in the plural, and are sufficiently plural to consume the firstfruits of

Nor is it really to be found in the *Didache* that the local communities depend for spiritual ministrations or for higher ministrations on the arrival of itinerants.[1] I point this out with diffidence, but the text is accessible, and what I say is easily verified. If the *Didache* tells us anything on that subject, it is that local communities are not upon its scheme thus dependent, since bishops and deacons also minister the ministry of prophets and teachers, whatever that is understood to have been (c. XV. 1). The statement in this matter is so explicit that one wonders how it should have been so generally ignored and the contrary assumed. Nor is it really provided that as soon as a charismatic wanderer should appear, he is to supersede local ministry.[2] He is indeed to be

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the community. It is not said, "If no prophet happen to come," but, "If ye have no prophet." The common case is assumed to be that of "having prophets." The parallel might be with the "Men" of some Highland districts; the idea is that of persons who "have gifts," are highly regarded, may be acknowledged with presents, and are allowed a certain liberty of speech in the congregation, very much as the "Men" were allowed on days preliminary to sacramental *occasions*.

[1] C. H. Turner, *Camb. Med. Hist.*, I., pp. 144, 145; Rawlinson, *Foundations*, p. 415.

[2] Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, p. 99 *n.*; Lowrie, *Church and Organisation*, p. 274 *n.*; Gwatkin, *H. D. B.*, *sub voce* "prophet"; Swete, *H. G. in Anc. Ch.*, p. 22; Rawlinson, *Foundations*, p. 383 *n.*; *Ibid.* p. 388; Gore, *Church and Ministry*, p. 362; Lowrie, *Church and its Organisation*, p. 337. A directly opposite inference seems to suggest itself to Batiffol: "The *Didache* could not have affirmed more strongly the supremacy of the local Church and of those who preside over

"received as the Lord"; but so, according to St. Matt. xxv. 35, is every stranger to be received. The expression is stronger than that of Heb. xiii. 2 as to entertaining angels unawares, since the case contemplated is more than that of a casual visitor; but it is not so much stronger that it must be construed with laborious literalness. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the phrase is intended to institute any comparison between the treatment to be accorded to itinerants and that habitually accorded to bishops and deacons who "ministered the same ministry"; according to c. IV. 1 he that "spoke to them the word of the Lord," as the bishops unquestionably did, they were also to "honour as the Lord." Far too much has been made of this sentence. Too much also has been made of "for they are your high-priests" (c. XIII. 3). It seems often to be read as if its connotation were "other ministers are your priests, but prophets are your high-priests." On the supposition of the early date for the *Didache* the phrase can hardly be more than a rhetorical justification of payment of firstfruits to prophets exclusively. Principal Lindsay would, in that case, correctly paraphrase it, "in this respect they are like the high-priests of the Old Testament."[1] To interpret it as a dogmatic parallel of systems of ministry is impossible without involving the ascription

it"—in assigning, *i. e.*, to the local Church the right to judge of the credit to be given to itinerants; *Prim. Cath.*, pp. 109, 110.

[1] *Church and Ministry*, p. 174.

of *Sacerdotium* to the office of presbyter—for the implicit question is "Shall you pay your first-fruits to your presbyters, or only to your prophets?" and if the answer be, "To prophets only, for they are high-priests," the contrast must be with presbyters as merely priests. At the date supposed this form of thought is improbable. As Dr. Bigg points out: "The Christian High-Priest in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* is Christ Himself." Clement certainly argues from the assignment of different services to high-priest, priest and Levite,[1] but there is no indication that he intends an analogy with corresponding Christian ministries; his argument is more general and is an argument for order—that all things be done, as St. Paul would have said, *κατὰ τάξιν*.

As it stands the sentence seems one of the most suspicious in the book. What then has become of the apostle who on any reckoning had precedence of prophets? How have prophets slipped into first rank? If the statement had been made of apostles we might have remembered Polycrates' story of St. John and the Petalon, we might have allowed something for Clement's reference to the high-priest and to the fact that, if by that he suggested any

[1] *Ad Corinth.* c. XL. The matter of c. XLII. is not sufficiently consecutive with that of c. XL to justify Bishop John Wordsworth in the assertion which he bases on their sequence that "St. Clement, *Cor.* 40–42, compares the apostles, the 'bishops' and the deacons to the high-priest, the priesthood and levites." When the analogy comes to be pressed (as it is by Tertullian, by Cyprian, and in the *Apostolic Canons*) it is the bishop who is regarded as high-priest.

ministry, it is the apostolate. But this writer has forgotten his apostle; his interest is in prophets, not in apostles.

Again, a prophet may apparently (if *ὁρίζων* be read) appoint an Agape (c. XI. 9), provided always that he is not himself to benefit by it; it is not really said anywhere that he is to preside at it,[1] or that he may celebrate the Eucharist, which presumably would follow. The statement that bishops and deacons also minister the ministry of prophets and teachers (c. XV. 1), does not really convey that normally prophets and teachers celebrated the Divine Liturgy, although bishops and deacons were now beginning to do the same; it is improbable that *λειτουργία* had acquired the technical sense within the period assigned to the *Didache* [2]—if it is here used technically, so much the worse for the early date of the document; the actual meaning seems to be that bishops and deacons also discharged the ministry of the word, notwithstanding that that ministry might seem to be peculiarly the sphere of prophets and teachers. Nor again is the right to celebrate the Sacrament really implied for prophets in the proviso of c. X. 7, "Suffer the prophets to give thanks as much as they will." [3] *Εὐχαριστεῖν* does not mean "to celebrate the Eucharist," and the thanksgiving in which prophets are allowed to depart from set forms

[1] Rawlinson, *ut supra*, pp. 383 *n.*, 415; Allen, *Christian Institutions*, p. 59; Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, pp. 99, 174.

[2] *Cf.* Batiffol, *Prim. Cath.*, p. 107 *n.*

[3] Swete, *Holy Spirit in the Anc. Church*, p. 21.

is expressly a concluding thanksgiving after celebration. Nor is it in any way implied that the prophet who is at this point permitted to expand has "presided" at the previous celebration; it is rather implied that his outpouring was not part of the requisite and usual order. There is nothing at all which imports that under any circumstances laymen, charismatic or otherwise, celebrated [1]; on the contrary, if anything relevant is to be inferred from the "therefore" of c. XV. 1, it is that bishops and deacons were required with a view to celebration. Nor, once more, does the exhortation in that sentence as to electing bishops and deacons imply anything as to transition from a charismatic to an appointed ministry.[2] They are not exhorted to elect, as if such election were a new departure; they are exhorted in electing to elect men of a particular type and qualification. The election is a matter of ordinary course, but it is not on that account to be perfunctory. The predicate is "worthy of the Lord, meek and not covetous, and true and approved"; the reason given being that the functions of the bishops and deacons are equally sacred and honourable with those of prophets and teachers. No one who is familiar with the tone of thought in some circles of our own religious environment will fail to recognise how such an apology for the "regular ministry" might be made to-day. It is possible, of course, to read all these

[1] Bartlet, *Proceedings of Oxford Soc. of Hist. Theol.*, 1892–3.

[2] Allen, *ut supra;* Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, p. 176 *n.* and p. 215.

things into the *Didache*, but unless they are read into it I do not find them in the document.[1]

If then the theory of twofold ministry, Charismatic and Appointed, is not derivable from the information accessible to us apart from the *Didache*, and is not derivable from the *Didache* itself, can it be derivable from a combination of these two sources? In chemistry the addition of a few drops from one solution to another may bring about the precipitation of a new substance different from that held in solution by either; such possibly has been the result of the addition of the *Didache* to our previous stock of knowledge. "The gain," Mr. Bartlet says,[2] "lies

[1] As an instance of finding in the *Didache* more than it contains, Principal Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, p. 213, speaks of the prophet of the *Didache* as "not to be judged, but to be obeyed,"[22] disobedience to his command being an unpardonable sin. But I can find nothing in the *Didache* about obedience to the prophet—the only command of his to which there is allusion being his "ordering of a table"[23]; and the sin being, not to disobey him, but to judge him. A prophet's business is to prophesy, not to give commands. Dr. Lindsay finds that the prohibition to judge the prophet comes from a time when prophecy was the great controlling power; but the earlier requirement was, on the contrary, to "prove all things"[22] (1 Thess. v. 20–1) and to judge prophesyings (1 Cor. xiv. 29). Dr. Lindsay seems to have in mind the contents of a theory, not the content of the *Didache*. So again, Weizsäcker (*Apostolic Age*, ii. 302): "The *Didache* . . . enforces the authority of the bishops and deacons by urging that they can now discharge the same ministry as the prophets and teachers had done in earlier times"[22]; whereas the text contains nothing about "now"[22] or about "earlier times"[22]—it merely says that bishops and deacons minister the same ministry as prophets and teachers.

[2] *H. D. B.*, I., p. 450 *a*.

not so much in the way of new facts as in the way of new light cast upon things already witnessed to by our existing documents, though in a manner too implicit to attract attention or win general assent as to their meaning." But if we do not gain new facts from the *Didache*, and if the evidence of the old facts is too implicit to attract attention or to win assent, the efficiency of the *Didache* seems to be reduced to this, that to certain minds it has suggested a theory. The *Didache* is capable of more or less accommodation to the theory, and so no doubt may be a certain number of the other data. But the theory does not arise out of the data—the theory must be assumed, and that again more or less upon an *a priori* presumption of opposition between the spiritual and the institutional, which cannot justly be assumed as axiomatic, before the data take on the aspect which the theory requires of them. And if certain of the data are patient of that aspect, others are not; and those which refuse to accommodate themselves to it are by much the more numerous and the more authentic. The theory of Twofold Ministry is far less an explanation than a new perplexity. For, with the exception of certain allusions, which may be otherwise interpreted, it leaves us with substantially the whole literature of the first age involved in a conspiracy of silence.

One may venture to hazard the suggestion that on the most favourable estimate of its position the *Didache* has been overworked. It has been read in the light of a theory, and has then been required to

show proof of the theory. It has been taken to contain what, even on that theory, it only suggests. A picture of the sub-apostolic age has been presented as derived from its pages; we are then called to recognise its authenticity from its faithfulness to that picture. Above all, it has been required to account for everything, while itself still unaccounted for. One meets such phrases as that the *Didache* shows or that it proves this or that, or that we now know from the *Didache* that this or that was the case [1]—and one finds oneself asking, "But what is the *Didache?*" "What is its origin?" "What is its date?" "What is the truth about its composition?" "Is it of the first century, or of the third, or of the fourth?" "Is it genuine or is it a literary *tour de force?*" The answers to these questions are, at least, uncertain; and till they are clearer than at present, it is difficult to see how the *Didache* can be said to show or to prove anything.

[1] *E. g.*, Turner, *Cambridge Med. Hist.*, p. 144; Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 228, etc.

LECTURE III

THE CESSATION OF SUPRANATURAL MANIFESTATIONS IN THE CHURCH

In my last lecture I discussed the more recent criticisms of the *Didache*, and ventured the conclusion that its position is uncertain, and that it can be instanced as evidence only with qualifications; that in fact we are on surer ground if our sources are the New Testament documents and the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. I go on to consider the more general basis for a theory of Ministry in relation to the Pentecostal Endowment, under two main heads: (1) The cessation in the Church of those manifestations of the supranatural which characterise the post-pentecostal moment, and the significance of their disappearance; (2) the respective offices or functions of our Lord and of the Holy Spirit in relation to Christian institutions.

I.—1. In any account of the Church from its emergence from the Upper Chamber towards its present as we know it, there are certain things which one would prefer to avoid.

(*a*) One would prefer to avoid if possible any

way of understanding the past which ascribes to the Church initiative or authority in matters of its essential equipment. For the Christian instinct is to locate initiative and authority in Christ and to regard the apparatus of grace as deposit in regard to which the Church is dependent on Christ's will and act. A Church, for example, conceived of as competent to create or to change ministry may seem far on the way to independence of Heaven itself, except in so far as Heaven may be conceived to have supplied its *primum mobile.*

Doctrine of the Church is conditioned by doctrine of the Incarnation. An Incarnation which has produced in Jesus a new personality, linking Deity to manhood from the side of Deity, or perhaps drawing up manhood to the point of being "in every sense of the word, Divine," leads consistently enough to the conception of an evolutionary Church. The Christ who in one form has disappeared has then probably reappeared in another: He has "returned as Spirit"; the Church is the *locus* of the manifestation of this Spirit, and so is practically in itself an Incarnation. Such a Church would without doubt be of large competence, and the making or unmaking of ministries might be the common incident of its activity. Spirit-filled, Spirit-guided, it goes its way, in virtue of Pentecost occupying the rôle which Christ has vacated, mistress of itself and of the spiritual sphere in which it administers, having nothing to consult except that impulse of its own which on the supposition it would be justified

in regarding as Divine.[1] On the other hand an Incarnation which presents the manifestation of a pre-existent Person of Eternal Deity, which was effected by the taking of humanity into union with the Godhead and persists for all purposes of Mediation between God and man, leads naturally to a conception of the Church as permanently and entirely attached to the Incarnation as a Kingdom over and in which the Eternal Christ reigns. In such a view the Spirit does not supersede Christ: on the contrary the coming of the Spirit establishes Christ's presence and authority. For on this supposition the Spirit does not speak or act ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ;[2] as He hears, so He speaks; the ordinances which He honours are Christ's ordinances and the institutions which He uses are Christ's institutions. The Church in that case is not an Incarnation of the Spirit, but through the Spirit is an extension of the Incarnation of Christ. There is no Kingdom of the Spirit; there is a Kingdom of Christ by the Spirit.

On this conception it is natural to think of the Church as a society definitely constituted by the will of its Lord, and as having from Him such endowment of grace and of means of grace as it pleased

[1] Not that a view of the Church as self-developing by a self-contained spiritual life necessarily implies a view of the Christ as also evolutionary—in many cases it implies nothing of the sort—but that the two views are logically congruous and sympathetic to each other.

[2] St. John xvi. 13.

Him to bestow; of which things the Church is merely steward. The general mind of Christianity tends to this manner of thought and inclines to deny excessive claims for the Church; to set it lowly at Christ's feet in a place of dependence and attention; and even to see the sanctity and glory of the Church in her incapacity to be other than Christ has Himself constituted her.

(*b*) Again one would willingly avoid any account of the Church which should begin with "Once upon a time":—once God was near—in those days the Church's common day gave effective proof of Heavenly Presence; but not now—that which began in the supernatural has subsided into the natural. Such an account is unsatisfactory—it is too easy, and reminds us too much of tales which, whatever their symbolic value, do not ask to be believed. We may attempt to rationalise it by the plea that at its first introduction the Gospel required the supernatural to warrant it; but to that plea the answer is only too obvious that the supernatural is much required to warrant it still, and, since Christianity claims to be supernatural, that only the supernatural can at any time be its warrant.[1] Our natural desire is to be able to think of the Church and to describe the Church throughout its course in the same terms; we have an obstinate persuasion that whatever it is now the Church has in essential character been from the first, and that whatever it was at the first

[1] I quote from recollection of an old pamphlet, *Modern Christianity a Civilised Heathenism.*

that it continues to be. The supernatural in which it originated ought still to be discoverable in its present, and our account of the Church ought at least to have room for that discovery. We need not at all overlook the evidential value of the emergent supernatural as we find it at the Church's origin. Evidential value, however, is not the same as evidential purpose. Our instinct opposes the idea of the supernatural imported "for a sign," used teratically [1] on an occasion and then dropped. Our Lord did not encourage such a view of the miraculous. One would prefer to think of the supernatural as then manifest because under the circumstances natural, the proper and inevitable symptom of the Spirit's descent into humanity. The evidential value seems even in some sort to depend upon the absence of evidential purpose. St. Paul was by no means certain that all charismata tended to convince the world.[2] Their effect might be repellent rather than convincing.[3]

(*c*) Again one is reluctant to contemplate, if it can be helped, the idea of dislocations as incidents of the Church's unfolding. The story of the Church is a story of life, the processes involved are vital processes; and except in its lower forms life proceeds by growth, and shows in the elements of the

[1] St. Paul's "sign to believers" (1 Cor. xiv. 22) is another matter.

[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

[3] Harnack, *Expans. of Christianity*, trans. p. 254 *n.*, points out that this was the case with men like Celsus.

organism with which it is at birth provided development rather than substitution. Normally life proceeds from weakness to strength and from lower conditions to higher. In the case of the Church regarded as the embodiment of life in its highest form, one shrinks from attributing to it crises of collapse or of declension from a higher to a lower, and one would be specially unwilling to be forced to see it as in any feature suffering loss of its distinctively spiritual character or of its Heavenly provision.

It may, however, prove difficult to avoid one or other of these ways of thinking as to the Church's history, since as matter of fact that history does show a stage at which the supernatural was apparent as now it is not. That is the circumstance for which an account has to be found; but if possible an account which will allow us to ascribe to the Church that continuity of history which the mind of our time desiderates, and which will make it practicable to view the Church as still containing whatever spiritual energy was resident in it at the beginning of its course. That the difficulty exists is certain. Principal Lindsay, for example, finds it necessary to admit an overthrow [1] of the prophetic ministry which, he thinks, was at first supreme and even held the great controlling power; and is led to conclude that the Church has always power to change its ministry—a conclusion which in the case

[1] *Church and Ministry in the Earlier Christian Centuries*, pp. 213, 235.

of an ordinance by hypothesis the direct creation and specific organ of the Holy Spirit is sufficiently startling. Mr. Lowrie,[1] following Sohm, is compelled to posit that from an extremely early moment the whole Church has erred in adopting an institutional ("legally constituted") view of its own nature; whereas it was really given as a purely charismatic society. "The rise of ecclesiastical law and the constitution of the Church is an apostacy from the conditions intended by Jesus Himself and originally realised."[2] Sohm himself comes nearest the sort of solution of which we are in search by indicating the essentially charismatic character of all ministry, but unfortunately interprets this very sound principle so as to condemn the form which, historically, ministry has assumed.[3] Duchesne[4] has little to say on the subject except that prophecy "held a prominent place in the life of the early Churches" and, as to charismata, that such phenomena were well calculated to arrest the minds and to sustain the enthusiasm of the first Christians. Harnack's theory of twofold ministry, however, is that which of all theories creates the most serious

[1] *The Church and its Organisation*, p. 9.

[2] Quoted Harnack, *Const. and Law of the Church*, trans. p. 5. But Harnack tells us that the formation of a legal code "began at once."

[3] "Is it not a contradiction that according to him [Sohm] an empirical entity is treated as though it were an ideal one, and consequently an absolute value is ascribed to earthly embodiments of the ideal?"—Harnack, *ut supra*, p. 195.

[4] *Early History of the Church*, John Murray, 1909, p. 197.

dichotomy between the earlier and later phases of Church life—the earlier, as we have seen, being according to this characterised by a God-given ministry which had direct mission and inspiration, the later by one which had no better credentials than those of legal appointment and of a certain mundane efficiency.[1] Anglican writers of the conservative school have tended to accept and utilise this conception of twofold ministry, seeing in it at least a partial explanation of the emergence of mono-episcopate. Gore, for example, finds in the gradual localisation of apostolic men the best supported view of that development; and by apostolic men he seems to intend the charismatic or ambulatory ministry of Harnack's theory.[2] Bishop John Wordsworth accepts this position frankly and thoroughly—the charismatic ministry, he says, certainly existed side by side with the settled

[1] In Harnack's view every direct external bond between Jesus and the Church and its developing order is severed by criticism, the only remaining bond being inner and spiritual. Nevertheless, since he admits the Twelve as recognised rulers of the Christian community and this by virtue of their appointment to that end by the Lord Himself, something direct and external, of the nature, that is, of institution and commission, would seem even so to persist; and in conjunction with the fact of spiritual endowment, also admitted, there might seem to be room thereby left for the validation of that which can trace to the exercise of this function of rule on the part of the Twelve.

[2] *Church and Ministry*, p. 304. Apostolic men he explains as "either of prophetic inspiration or of apostolic authority and known character—'prophets' or 'teachers' or 'evangelists' or 'rulers.'"

ministry: and like Gore he indicates a connection between the episcopate as developed and "the old broad apostolic ministry."[1] Moberly is more cautious, but seems to utilise the idea of charismatic ministry to supply for the sub-apostolic period that "background" of authority behind the presbyterate which he desires everywhere to establish.[2]

The common feature of all such treatments of the history is that they contemplate a serious discrepancy between the first age of the Church and all later ages. The Church then, it seems, began on one plane and has shifted to another. It began on the spiritual and has declined to the legal. It possessed an organ of direct communication with Heaven, which has disappeared by atrophy, or has perished for lack of appreciation, or has been withdrawn as unsuited to a practical world. But this is precisely the type of conclusion which, if we entertain any conviction of the Heavenly mission of Christianity or of a Divine superintendence of its embodiment in the Church, is necessarily unwelcome. The fact that a disruption of continuity and a declension from higher to lower levels has taken place is not removed, nor is the painfulness of admitting it softened, if we are told that it was inevitable, closer organisation leaving always less room for free exercise of charismatic function,[3] or that the passing away of the charismatic ministry

[1] *Ministry of Grace*, p. 147–149.
[2] *Ministerial Priesthood*, pp. 215–18.
[3] Lindsay, *ut supra*, p. 214.

is part of the Divine order which tends generally to the substitution of the ordinary and continuous for the miraculous and extraordinary [1]: we still ask ourselves why the inevitably decadent should have been at all called into service, or we ask ourselves whether it is orderly to initiate that for which a substitute must at once be found. St. Paul certainly seems to have contemplated a sweeping change "when that which is perfect is come"; but the change which he expects is from lower to higher; and in any case perfection was not reached at the end of the first century.

2. In endeavouring to arrange the facts which the early history of the Church discloses—and that, after all, is the most that we can attempt—we are perhaps too ready to import into our consideration of them the pre-supposition of an opposition between the spiritual and the corporeal. If such an opposition tends in human affairs to emerge, Christianity certainly does not propose to emphasise but to solve it. Spirit and form are not necessarily opposed. The distinctive conception in Christianity is that of Incarnation—the Word becoming Flesh in order to manifest the spiritual, and also in order to redeem the actual. Christianity in fact sets itself to counteract the common and perhaps natural idea of the grossness of the actual—an idea which most other systems have accepted and have symbolised by characterising matter as evil and by

[1] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, p. 149. Cf. Cotterill, *Genesis of the Church*, pp. 421, 422.

holding that the Divine suffers loss by contact with matter. In the Christian scheme the material and actual appears as the medium which God has chosen for the purpose of self-expression. Hence in one aspect the Incarnation. In its other aspect of Redemption, we see God refusing to assent to the degradation of the material and actual. He will reclaim it to the service of the spiritual. The spiritual requires the material for its self-assertion and realisation. It embodies itself in lives as they are lived and in actions as they are done and in societies as they cohere. Spirit in fact has not reached its goal until such embodiments are achieved. Actuality, as Goethe somewhere says, is the end of the ways of God. In St. John's view Christianity is true to itself wherever it represents Christ as *come in the flesh;* when its teaching, that is, develops in harmony with and in dependence upon its fundamental conception of a factual Incarnation. As regards our doctrine of the Church, that result is so far attained when we think of the Church as, in Newman's phrase, a substantive corporation, spiritual in the proper sense, not of tenuity or of imperceptibility, but of adequacy to express Spirit and of correspondence to the activity of Spirit. *Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστός*—Christ is not carnalised if we ascribe to Him a body, the Church, having the same quality of realness which St. John or St. Ignatius asserts for His personal Body. Life demands organism: Spirit desires to be clothed upon. It is permissible to think of Christ as in His Divine

humanity the actual Lord and Head of an actual kingdom—which is not indeed *ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*, forth from this world, but is certainly in this world, composed from such elements as the world offers, and so far ordered after human methods as a practical kingdom of men must be; all that is *κατὰ Χριστόν*. We are not in reality any nearer a spiritual idea of the Church if we discover at its initiation a ministry warranted not by institution but only by values; and we are not any further from ascribing to it a spiritual character if we regard it as a society whose form is Divinely determined and as the organism of a life which demands certain modes of form for its full realisation. Life is not less vital when its organs assume predetermined shape; spirit is not less spiritual if a body be prepared for it—on the contrary, it is then spirit reaching expression and accomplishing mission.

The account which we possess of events leading up to Pentecost is an account of the preparation of a Body in which the ascended Christ might come to do the will of the Father [1]: the company of believing men was already gathered; the apostles were already chosen and had received commission; the Sacraments had been appointed; the Gospel had been enacted. As an externally constituted society the Church was even then complete; it lacked only life—it waited for that influx of spirit, of which Christ had spoken as the promise of the Father. The history of the Church as such begins

[1] Heb. x. 5.

where Christ chose Twelve and ordained them to be with him, whom also He called apostles—it is reasonable to expect that its development should be from that germ of action, and that its history should continue upon the method then initiated. A charismatic ministry, dependent upon impulse, occupying no office, guaranteed by no delegation, is not more accordant with our Lord's apparent method as indicated in the call of the Twelve, but is less accordant with it and with the principles which seem to underlie it, than a regular and appointed ministry is. Regular ministry is ideally truer to type—Christ is come "in flesh"—He accepts the conditions of human actuality for His Church as for Himself; He constitutes it as a society composed of human elements may naturally be constituted. If definiteness of selection and explicitness of appointment and of commission and delegation amount to legalism and mundanity, the Church seems to have already incurred these detriments at a point long antecedent to Pentecost. The importation of a purely charismatic at Pentecost would give us only another dislocation and another breach of continuity, even more severe than that of the supersession of the charismatic by reversion to the method of regularity, which Harnack and others suppose to have taken place in the course of the second century. If this is spirituality, it is spirituality dearly purchased. There are minds to which the older conception of an apostolic and continuous ministry would be, if the facts at all permit, more

intelligible.[1] Should that conception seem to have a certain tinge of the commonplace, there is none the less this for it, that Christianity delights in the commonplace; for the Word has become Flesh and dwells with us. The spiritual has become the commonplace of Christian experience.

3. There is, however, no difficulty in admitting that there has been in the Church's experience a moment at which this normality of the spiritual was far from being yet established. In this fact lies the element of truth in those views which distinguish sharply between a first period of the Church's history and its whole subsequent development. The influx of the Holy Spirit to the Christian soul and to the Christian Society was exalting and exciting, and therefore was disturbing and perplexing. We who have existed in no other atmosphere than that which the presence of the Divine Spirit creates must always have difficulty in imagining what life on that lower plane on which the Spirit found men may have resembled, and no less in imagining the novelty of the consciousness of which the first recipients of the Spirit were suddenly aware. The experience of personal conversion as it is known among ourselves is often sufficiently overwhelming: in its "movement of the whole man," its illumination, its liberation of unsuspected faculty; yet it is probably a much less marked change of self than that undergone by those. For in our case

[1] *Cf.* Batiffol, *Prim. Cath.*, p. 151 (trans. Brianceau, 1911).

conversion, however critical, has had a previous history; the soul knows what to expect; it has to realise rather than to discover, and is already docile to Spiritual contacts. It has already been the subject of many influences of the Paraclete; the Christian graces and the Christian capacities may be and in many cases are already largely developed in it. The subjects of the Pentecostal experience had no such preparation. As the Spirit found them they were, in St. Paul's phrase, " psychic men," to whom, as St. Paul states it, things of the Spirit were foolishness; we can find no better illustration of St. Paul's meaning in the phrase quoted than the incapacity of the Twelve during their discipleship to understand Christ. Discernment of the Spiritual implies Spiritual faculty which they had not; the things of God knoweth no man save the Spirit of God—the Spirit was with them, but He was not in them.[1] Their dullness of apprehension at that stage astonishes us—it is a helplessness to understand—Christ wrestled in vain with it; He had many things to say to them, but they could not bear them; He stakes everything on the coming of the Spirit—in that day they should know.[2] The transformation of their consciousness which followed is associated, not with their persuasion of the Resurrection and not directly with the Ascension—in his narrative of that St. Luke with evident purpose emphasises the fact that they were up to

[1] St. John xiv. 17.

[2] *Ibid.* xiv. 20: conf. vv. 25, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 4–7, 13, 25.

that point still dreaming the old dream of a Jewish *risorgimento*,[1] and that even after the Ascension they continued for a time in the former impotence, voiceless and inactive. None of the phenomena of regeneration are so far apparent in them; they are still, as they had been, "natural men" to whom the past through which they had lived with Christ remained a puzzle, and the future to which they were called in Him a blank perplexity.

Into this perplexity blazed the illumination of the Divine Spirit; upon this impotence came the energy of a Divine life. History supplies no parallel moment for illustration. Our own experience, as has been said, has been too gradual and habitual to enable us to present to ourselves any clear image of theirs. (*a*) It must have included the consciousness of perception. The spiritual atmosphere was no longer opaque to them; it had become transparent. The past became luminous, intelligible, containing a Gospel which they could interpret. (*b*) It must have included a new consciousness of communion with Jesus in one Spirit; through Him with the Father; and in God with all that is redemptive and Heavenly. (*c*) It must have included the sense of destiny and of vocation; the same change which affected their apprehension of the past must have affected also their apprehension of the purpose of the future. Their eyes were opened and they saw both the way by which they had come and the path before them. (*d*) It must have included

[1] Acts i. 6.

the sense of power; from that aspect especially the promise had been presented to them, "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you"; and it is the note of power—power to witness, to reconcile to God, to judge, to endure, to save—Christ's power in Earth as in Heaven now thrilling in them to make them able ministers of the Gospel, which rings through and dominates the earlier narratives. With great power gave the Apostles witness.

It is not easy, then, for us to represent to ourselves such a consciousness as that of this group of men. Yet it is necessary for us to do so, because within that consciousness lies the secret of the difference between those days of the Church and all days which have followed. The life of God has touched them; they can know God; they can enter the mind of God; they can do the will of God. That which has reached them is life of a new sort, Heavenly life, abounding, rejoicing; life that vibrates with force and that strains the limitations of humanity to contain and to express it. The unearthly voices which burst from their lips are a symptom of it as more than nature can endure, something excessive and uncontrollable. Life must out—it must expend its energies. This fulness of life which floods into the Church does not at once flow into those expenditures in which by and by it will learn to exhaust itself—the weariness, namely, of contest with a world's evils and the toil of a great service; and till it is turned exhaustively to such uses it must

effervesce and overflow. This stage of ebullition will not immediately pass; it will necessarily continue until the human spirit is disciplined to endure and to respond to the impact of the Divine Spirit. The human accommodates itself but slowly to the Heavenly, the natural to the Spiritual. From this time on there begins a new evolution; it is the evolution of the new Christian nature, *τρίτον γένος*, adapting itself to such high communion. The position as seen after Pentecost is therefore for the moment abnormal to the condition upon which the Church had now entered; but the abnormality is not, as commonly assumed, upon the side of the Spirit who comes, but of the humanity to which He comes: a humanity which has not yet assumed and is not as yet capable of that relation to Divine Spirit which is to prove itself the normal relation. The necessary evolution will, however, accomplish itself under those processes of response to stimulation which are distinctive of a living body. If we pass through a wire an excessive current of electricity the wire will heat and fuse; but the nerve channels of a living organism under the stimulus of increased nervous flow behave otherwise—they adapt themselves, their capacity expands to meet requirement —they become adequate to its transmission and deft to elicit the proportionate muscular response, the nerve tract developing under increased and repeated demand. In this manner the will which originates the stimulus so to speak recreates the organ as is needful for its own exercise.

This illustration is inadequate; it is meant to suggest that the later subsidence of "supernatural" demonstrations in the Church is due, not to the "passing away" of Spiritual power or to the withdrawal of any endowment, but on the contrary to the greater Spiritualisation of the Church and to its increasing capacity for correspondence with the Divine presence which is always seeking expression by its means. This presence does not become less energetic, but its energy comes to be otherwise absorbed and utilised. It is true that the activity of Spirit is now less apparent upon the surface, but that is because it is now finding its way through the depths. The Divine Life appears less as a life operating independently within the Church, because it is now more thoroughly blent into the life of the Church itself; its force has passed into the ordinary channels of our activity and finds outlet through these. Every force works the more smoothly and silently as the mechanism which it actuates is perfected to receive and obey its impetus. As we watch this subsidence of supranatural manifestation in the Christian Society we need not postulate change on the Divine side—the onrush of the Spirit continues as before; what occurs is perhaps rather an adaptation of the Body of Christ to that newly given Soul which is His Spirit, a gradual opening of its nerve paths to the stream of Christ's will, a gradual expansion of capacity in the organism to meet new demands; with a consequent direction of the new energy into its proper work of redeeming our

humanity and of engaging it in the redemption of the world. There comes no stinting of the tide of grace let loose by the Ascension; there is now, not a greater remoteness from the Divine, but a more intimate union with it. The Heavenly life continues in the Church with every fulness of its original entrance; but the Church has now so developed the spiritual habit that it can meet and absorb the entering Spirit without perturbation. The energy communicated from Christ no longer requires such outlet as the Glossolalia may have supplied; it may not as common incident sparkle in miracle or overwhelm startled souls to the point of ecstasy or trance. You must look now for its usual evidence in other forms, not less supernatural and more Divine, in the work of faith and labour of love and patience of hope which appear in the lives of sinful men, or in the age-long vigilance and perennial vigour of the Church itself.

Döllinger compares the Church in the post-pentecostal period to a mass of metal in fusion, "still glowing, unformed," a mass holding one may suppose in solution the elements of an order which was to emerge, though as yet not crystallised into shape—much as cosmic theory suggests the worlds as at first nebulae of a flaming vapour, which was the undifferentiated matrix for future evolution. Döllinger's simile would in fact suit better with an evolutionary theory of the Church than with that system of Divinely authoritative institution to which he proceeds. He speaks of its later condition as

one of coldness and fixity.[1] But it is exactly this conception of cooling down and of passage from state to state, as a fluid becomes a solid, which one does not desire to affix to the Church. When one considers the Pentecostal glories, one would prefer to think of the splendours of a dawn. These splendours appear because at first the sun shines through those heavier vapours of our world which lie low and thick along its horizon. They are splendid and are the fitting accompaniment of the sunrise which brings light and life. Presently they fade and disappear, not because the light wanes, but because it has increased to the perfect day, the common light in which man goes forth to his work. Nothing has been withdrawn; only now the sun has risen above the mists and is shining in his strength.

Or perhaps, better, we may recall St. John's figure of the Living River[2]: when the sluice-gates of Heaven are opened and it flows to earth, there must needs be the plunge and tumult of its first impact, and its earlier course may well be that of a cataract with foam and spray and loud rushing; for the course into which it descends is rough and narrow—at first the River must make its own path,

[1] "Presented a very different appearance from that of its later conditions when it had become cold and fixed," *First Age of the Church*, p. 286, trans. Oxenham. Mr. Turner (*Foundations*, App., p. 408) speaks of "a pre-institutional phase or moment," and of a subsequent "crystallisation."

[2] "This spake He of the Spirit which they that believe in Him should receive" (St. John vii. 39).

clearing it through obstruction. As the river-bed grows deep and smooth under its sweep, the River will flow always more quietly. The full stream is perhaps less picturesque than the rapids; yet it has lost nothing of its volume or strength. And now it parts into the humbler channels prepared for its flow, and the waters spread and sink from sight into thirsty ground; yet nothing of it is lost—everything shall live whithersoever the River cometh. One may believe that thus the full tide of Pentecost still floods into the Church of God undiminished. Because at a point in its history the projection of the supra-natural upon the surface of the Church's life began to subside, it is not necessary to infer from that a general subsidence of the Church itself from an earlier spiritual to a merely natural plane, or to infer such a withdrawal of spiritual energy that we must expect an inferior type of ministry, tracing to human appointment, to be substituted for a higher ministry of direct inspiration.

II.—But farther—the Pentecostal gift does not by itself account for the Church. Assuming that the Church is best understood by that comparison to a living organism which first occurs in our Lord's simile of the Vine, and is followed up in St. Paul's favourite simile of the Body—such a comparison implies two characteristics, organisation as well as life. The Church's possession of life is attributed to the presence in it of the Holy Spirit; the fact of its organisation is attributed—not to the Spirit—

but to Christ as the Church's Creator. The theology of the Holy Spirit in His relations to the First and Second Persons of the Trinity may in the earlier age have been vague; it was certainly unformulated: to the present moment, indeed, this province of Theology remains less determinate than any other of comparable importance, and possibly from its difficulty will continue more or less unexplored. But, at least so far as the ground is covered by Scripture, there was no confusion of the Holy Spirit with Christ.

Disproportionate stress has been laid upon an expression used by St. Paul, "Now the Lord is the Spirit," [1] as if it implied in the writer's mind an identification—a "return of Christ in the form of Spirit." [2] It is, however, impossible to set an isolated phrase of this sort against the whole drift of a writer's habitual system of thought. It is no longer our custom to argue from "proof texts" unless they are really representative statements. St. Paul's manner is to state his point with an epigrammatic vigour which, in another, might be taken for over-statement. His point here is the entire coincidence of the mind of Christ with the mind of the Spirit who in the Church speaks for Him, so that to yield to the Spirit is to receive Christ, and to recognise Christ is to become partaker

[1] Ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστίν, 2 Cor. iii. 17.

[2] This identification seems to be assumed, for example, by Professor Kirsopp Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 213: "When we remember that to St. Paul, 'the Lord is the Spirit,' and that His body was spiritual"; p. 384: "One Spirit who for Paul and his hearers is scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from the risen Christ."

of that liberty which the Spirit effects; but he does not identify the Spirit with Christ. We can attribute no more to this saying than to that of the earlier Epistle, "The second Adam became a quickening Spirit," [1] which occurs where the whole argument depends upon the factual nature of Christ's resurrection. St. Paul operates in fact with the doctrine which is set forth in St. John's record,[2] where the sending of the Paraclete through Christ's mediation is regarded as effectively Christ's own return, and the Spirit's indwelling as Christ's indwelling, though in St. John there is certainly no confusion or identification of Christ with the Spirit, the Spirit being explicitly "another Paraclete." This doctrine is the commonplace of St. Paul's thinking, and he is not careful of being misunderstood by his readers; elsewhere he can pass without pause to identify the "Spirit of God" dwelling in us with the "Spirit of Christ," and, finally, with "Christ in us," [3] the three phrases being for him equally descriptive of the same fact. The thought is consistent and clear: primarily the Spirit is the Spirit of God—in virtue of Christ's mediation He reaches us and is known in us as the Spirit of Christ —and His interpretation of Christ's mind and conveyance of Christ's will is so absolutely faithful that the result of His indwelling is effectively Christ in us [4]—he that is joined to the Lord, St. Paul says

[1] Ἐγένετο . . . ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν, 1 Cor. xv. 45.
[2] St. John xiv. 3, 18, 23, etc.
[3] Rom. viii. 9–11.
[4] Cf. Ephes. iii. 16–17.

elsewhere, is with Him one Spirit,[1] but is not on that account supposed to be merged in the Spirit or to lose his own identity. The Holy Spirit in St. Paul's thought is not Christ; He is the Spirit of Life in Christ, the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus, the Spirit of God. St. Paul's mind was constantly dominated by his own conversion experience; the Christ of his thoughts was not, and could not be, subjectively apprehended Spirit, but was the glorious One whom he saw and heard on the Damascus road. Whoever might doubt of Christ's persistence as personality localised and cognoscible, Paul did not; he was incapable of conceiving of Christ otherwise than as clothed upon in that *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, which, from the precedent of the risen Christ, he so confidently anticipates for us.[2] For Paul, not only are the Christ and the Spirit distinct, but they are severally received—first Christ, and then through Christ the Spirit. It is because we are sons, reconciled by faith in Christ, that God sends forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts [3]; God establishes us into Christ and anoints us, giving us also the earnest of the Spirit—such had been the order of Paul's own experience, and for him it is the normal order.

St. Paul's theology in this matter is not in any sense peculiar to him; it is part of that groundwork of accepted doctrine which is common to him with such of his contemporaries as have left record. For them all Christ is the enthroned Authority, the

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 17. [2] 1 Cor. xv. 42–9. [3] Gal. iv. 6.

Source, the Dispenser of Gifts, He to whom the act of regulation is proper, who orders and institutes; while the Holy Spirit is the Living Medium by whom Christ acts in the Church, and the immediate Agent of Christ's will. St. Peter (in the narrative of the Acts—which makes St. Luke also a witness with him, and indirectly St. Paul as well) preaches Christ exalted at the right hand of God, receiving from the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, and so shedding forth That which on Pentecost was seen and heard. To Peter as to Paul the order of grace is man's turning to God in penitence through Christ, and, in sequence to that, his reception of the Spirit.[1] The Christ of St. Peter's Epistle is One who through suffering has attained to glory, and is now our Pastor and Overseer,[2] exercising from Heaven a perpetual dominion[3]; the Spirit on the other hand is the Power sent forth from Heaven through whom the Gospel has been preached.[4] It seems almost unnecessary to illustrate from the Fourth Gospel or from the Apocalypse, that the same conception of the relation of Christ to the Spirit and to the Church as receiving the Spirit prevails in them. The theme of that part of the Fourth Gospel which is occupied with the subject is the mission of the Spirit in obedience to the requirements of Christ's Lordship in the Church. The Spirit does not speak from Himself—He is a listening Spirit, repeating in the Church what He hears in the Heart of the Ascended Saviour.

[1] Acts ii. 32–40.
[2] 1 St. Peter ii. 25.
[3] *Ibid.* iii. 22.
[4] *Ibid.* i. 12.

The things which He is to show are Christ's. In his First Epistle, St. John re-echoes St. Paul's description of the Spirit as an anointing from Christ ("The Holy One").[1] He describes the Spirit as the Spirit of God, testifying to Jesus.[2] The Christ of the Apocalypse is the personal Jesus now reigning from the Heavens; He has the Seven Spirits of God, and from under his throne flows the River which typifies that effusion of the Spirit which began from Pentecost.[3] The writer to the Hebrews occupies himself almost entirely with the conception of our Lord's presence in our nature in the Upper Sanctuary and with His efficient ministry there; while the Spirit in the Church is, by His gifts, a witness from God to the Gospel,[4] the Inspirer of the former dispensation and its Scripture,[5] and the Co-worker with Christ in His offering of Himself to God.[6]

The common view, then, of the New Testament writers is that Christ is immanent in the Church by the Spirit whom He mediates to it, but that personally He is transcendent to the Church, dealing with it as its Creator and Ruler and Judge. This view of the relation was implicit in His own primary declaration that He would "build the Church on a foundation"; in His regulative purpose the Church is to be from the first, and will always be, the work of His hands. The saying is not one which could be forgotten by its hearers, but must have permanently

[1] 1 St. John ii. 20.
[2] *Ibid.* iv. 2–3.
[3] Apoc. xxi. 1; comp. St. John vii. 39.
[4] Heb. ii. 4.
[5] *Ibid.* iii. 7; ix. 8, etc.
[6] *Ibid.* ix. 14.

shaped their thought upon the subject; St. Peter long afterward shows how deeply it had entered into his mind.[1]

In so far then as the term Evolution suggests for the Church an independent life tentatively expanding its own content, it is a term to be used in this connection with caution; we can more accurately speak of the Church's development. The Church is not a Body for the Spirit—it is Christ's Body. It is not merely "a Body of which the Spirit of Christ is the Soul"[2]—it is also a Body, of which Christ is the constructive mind. Metaphor must not run away with us. The comparison of the Church to a Body is useful, and on one side of the truth it is illuminative; but it is not exhaustive of truth. In the midst of the exposition which St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, bases upon it, he finds need to have recourse besides to the highly contrasted metaphor of a building which develops the plan of its author.[3] From one point of view (the vital) the Church may be best described as an organism, Christ's Body; from another point of view (the social) it is best described as a temple which shows His workmanship. Both metaphors are significant, and they have equal claim to govern our thought. As to Christ's supremacy and authority over the Church, their result is the same; for if the Church be conceived of as a Body, it is a Body of which Christ's personality is the norm and which

[1] 1 St. Peter ii. 4 f.

[2] Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, p. 69.

[3] Ephes. ii. 20–22.

must grow up into Him in all things, and we must still think of Christ as determining its form as absolutely as when we figure the Church as a kingdom swayed by His sceptre, or as a structure reared to His design.

If there is any one conception which is universally present to the thought of the first age, it is that of Christ's personal and active government of the Christian community; and if there is any conception for which we shall in vain search the mind of the Canonical writers (who are at least the earliest witnesses, and present us with clear sections of the primitive Christian consciousness), it is the conception of the Church as having through the influx of the Spirit "life in itself," or of the Church as inspired by a Spirit who exercises a regulative initiative. We find everywhere the keenest sense of the activity of the Holy Spirit; but it is of the Spirit as an Agency for Christ, as the Medium through whom Christ is Head over all things to the Church, and fills all things, and is all in all. Christ works with His servants as they go forth; the signs following, though the power in the human minister of the signs is the charisma of the Spirit, are Christ's confirming act. It is Christ who adds to the Church those who, though it be by the Spirit's enabling, are in process of salvation. It is Christ who makes whole those who are charismatically healed. It is Christ who, by the Spirit, dwells in the believer, and is present where two or three are gathered in His Name. It is Christ to whom

the Spirit witnesses, whose mind the Spirit conveys, whose will the Spirit impresses, whose institution the Spirit follows. He glorifies Christ. The life-giving function of the Spirit, enabling the Christian Society to respond to Christ's will does not infringe upon Christ's function as imposing the will which governs.

Everything, therefore, of the Church's form, as distinguished from its vitality, is attributed, not to its possession of the Holy Spirit, but to the direct action of Christ; not, that is, to Christ immanent, but to Christ transcendent. Pentecost does not create institutions; it quickens the already instituted. The outflow of the Living River found prepared channels; the great origins are not from Pentecost, but are from Christ's previous ministry. It is not, for example, Pentecost which assembles the Discipleship; the Discipleship has been gathered by Christ and waits for the promise of the Father—its character as a society devoted to the continuance and extension of Christ's work already indicated and determined. Pentecost does not bring the Gospel which the Church is to propagate—it is Christ who has lived out the Gospel; the Spirit comes to " bring to remembrance," and to illuminate in the apprehension of the Apostles the redemptive events with their proper significance; now the blind eyes are opened and the deaf ears are unstopped—they are no longer without understanding; but no new fact is added—it is only that now the facts are perceived to constitute Gospel. Pentecost does

not institute the Sacraments; they are already appointed by Christ.

Nor, it is submitted, does Pentecost produce the ministry. That, too, had already originated in Christ's sovereign act, and that, too, "waited for the promise" "to receive power." In relation to the constitution of the Church the appointment of the Twelve must continue to appear the most determinative of our Lord's actions. It involved His purpose to continue His work throughout the ages following His departure; these men were to be executors of the New Testament; these are the foundation stones. It fixed the nature of the Church as an objective kingdom, a concrete society. It finally negatived the idea of the Church as a thing of Spirit only, and gave it at once place and shape among visible things—thenceforth the Church is stamped with the character of institution. It is not only Holy, Catholic, One—but it is also Apostolic. The Apostolicity of the Church is not a question of words or names. It does not depend upon the looser use of the term "apostle" in its etymological sense; it is not affected by the "numbering with the Apostles" of a Matthias, or by the special vocation of a Paul, or by the graded use of the word apostle in application to "apostolic men." The Twelve remain what their primary commission made them, and what at every stage of the Church's consciousness we discover them to be. The principle of ministry representative of Christ and of His authority and pastorate is contained in their presence in

the Church at the point at which the Church came into being as " a Spirit-bearing Body." Pentecost did not produce ministry; Pentecost found ministry and vitalised it. Pentecost has not to do with form but with power.

It is impossible then to represent Ministry as depending upon Pentecost, because it is impossible to represent the Apostolate as depending upon Pentecost, and because it is impossible to group the Apostolate with anything which is not institutional in character but is purely charismatic. One cannot at Pentecost make a new departure for apostleship as being now one of a series of ministries which owe nothing to exterior appointment, but are warranted only by gift; for the sufficient reason that we cannot obliterate the fact that apostleship has a history previous to Pentecost and, by the witness of all, owes its status to appointment. It is true that St. Paul does in two lists group apostles with persons whose distinction is charismatic; but it does not follow that the common feature of the classification is, in the technical sense of the word, *ministry;* it seems rather to be the character common to apostles and to charismatic persons as being in both cases direct gifts from Christ to the Church. St. Paul's grouping cannot reduce apostleship to dependence for vocation upon charismatic equipment, for apostles had already their vocation from the lips of Christ.

To trace ministry alone of the great institutions to the immediate action of Spirit is not only incon-

sistent with the historical account (if the New Testament documents are to be allowed any trustworthiness); but more—it diverts Spirit from its proper function, which is to operate subjectively by way of quickening or illuminating or empowering; and assigns to Spirit that function of creation and rule which is everywhere else assigned to Christ as Lord.

Here, then, we find the *a priori* difficulty in the way of the theory of Twofold Ministry, a charismatic and an institutional—namely, that it introduces a confusion of thought; it is wrong theologically. It conflicts with a conception of the Church as " subject to Christ " which is otherwise in theology consistently followed. The fact of the conflict is indicated by the fact which has been noted, that it necessitates at Pentecost a new departure in respect of apostleship. This conflict becomes explicit where Harnack's theory of double organisation results in the supposition of a " tension and antinomy " between the two systems, in which the Divine system as spiritually inefficient goes down before the human system and " passes away "—a *dénouement* to which the understanding has difficulty in accommodating itself.

LECTURE IV

MINISTRY AND CHARISMATA

In discussing the origin of "Ministry" we are dealing with an exceedingly ambiguous term; no conclusion can be reached unless there is some common understanding of the sense in which that term is understood. The technical vocabulary of early Christianity consists mainly of words in common use for common purposes, current in daily speech, with applications usual to them before they were appropriated to specific Christian uses. Such words are Apostle, Bishop, Presbyter, Deacon, Baptism, Eucharist and others. Some of these terms had already been adopted in Jewish practice and, to certain ears, carried a sense peculiar to Jewish use. None the less they were part of the ordinary stock of language used by every one for all purposes; and they are used by Christian writers, sometimes in the sense which only Christians assigned to them in certain relations—sometimes, without any such special connotation, in their current etymological usage. When we encounter any such term in the New Testament or in other early writings we have to ask ourselves whether it is used technically or not—how far it carries some shade of specialised association.

Of such terms, however, the Greek equivalent of our word "Ministry" is hardly one. The word is *διακονία*, and it means "service"; its use in the New Testament is etymological, and not technical. With its co-derivatives it is used there in the most various application, physical and spiritual: of the activity of angels, of our Lord, of Christians generally, and of specialised function within the Christian society,[1] and among these with peculiar emphasis by St. Paul of the work of the apostolate; in all cases I think the sense will be adequately given by the use of the equivalent from the series derived from our own word "serve." If we are to use the word Ministry in an application as general as that of *διακονία* in the New Testament, there can be no reason why we should not speak of a twofold, or, for that matter, of a sevenfold or twenty-fold ministry; still less why we should not distinguish broadly between main types of usefulness—between, for example, those miscellaneous services for which grace fits and those restricted services which appointment to definite charge imposes; or, again, between the missionary staff and the domestic staff, both of which the Church will always need, and which differ not in office but in sphere. The word Ministry in its untechnical sense, translating,

[1] Principal Lindsay distinguishes no fewer than seven senses in which *διάκονος* with its derivatives is used in the New Testament of life within the Church itself, not to speak of its other applications of which he gives an analysis (*Church and Ministry*, p. 62). *Διάκονος* does of course occur in a technical sense, as in Phil. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8, etc.)

as to the Elizabethan ear it apparently translated, *διακονία*, amply covers these and many other possible classifications.

In modern use, however, the word Ministry has definitely acquired a technical sense which we cannot dismiss from our minds, but which obtrudes itself into our thinking even where we handle material to which such a sense is entirely foreign. To us it becomes "the Ministry," with the associations which that phrase carries, involving ideas of separation, function, specific charge, which *διακονία* does not so much as suggest. It would tend to clarity of thought as well as to precision of treatment were it possible to obtain a general practice of restricting the employment of the word Ministry to the technical sense in which we now habitually use it, and of preferring, in order to render *διακονία* and its cognates, English words of neutral association which do not postulate the ends to which we are reasoning. For the subject of the Christian Ministry is one upon which in other relations most of us are committed: it is easy for us to imagine ourselves to be thinking forward from the primary data when in reality we are thinking backward from present positions, and so to import into the unspecialised terminology of the first generations more rigid conceptions than it properly conveys. In the later and technical sense of the word Ministry, the sense in which it appeals to our immediate interest, there is only one ministry discoverable within the evidence of our sources. Services, usefulnesses, activities, exercises of gift are,

and must always have been, multifarious; these are in the New Testament usage called *διακονίαι*, and in the English of the authorised version *διακονία* is translated by *ministry*, when we should in modern English say *service*. We are not, however, really helped towards an understanding of the origins of what we have in mind as the Christian Ministry by treating passages in which *διακονία* or its cognates occur as if they referred to what we mean when we speak of that Ministry. The equivalent of "Minister" as we now speak of a minister is not *διάκονος*, but *ὑπηρέτης*,[1] a term which carries the idea of office, commission, charge, and its fulfilment, as *διάκονος* does not, and is used by St. Paul with defining words [2] which the Christian Ministry has generally found appropriate to express its own conception of itself.

How far this ambiguity of the term Ministry can be pressed may be learnt when the late Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. John Wordsworth, is found classifying Asceticism as a ministry, which, he tells us, is lay and charismatic and occasional.[3] Chastity is a grace: that is, it is a charisma; therefore its practice is a ministry and a charismatic ministry; and it is a lay ministry, since laymen also may be chaste; and it is further a ministry because asceticism took the place of martyrdom and confessorship, martyrs

[1] St. Luke i. 2; Acts xiii. 5; xxvi. 16; 1 Cor. iv. 1.

[2] "And stewards of the mysteries of God."

[3] *Ministry of Grace*, pp. 209–10; and see Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, p. 149 of the prolegomena.

and confessors having been in the habit of giving (in contravention of discipline) letters of peace to excommunicates. The blessed martyrs and confessors have thus also, it would seem, become a ministry. It is difficult to see wherein we are helped by so elaborate confusion in the use of words—which, after all, are our only tools for discussion. The instance given is extreme, but hardly singular.

Every Christian activity is a *διακονία*—a service to Christ, or to the Church, or to the fellow Christian, or to humanity at large; even asceticism may, with some stretching, be so named, in so far as it aims to discipline self and so to exalt the standard of Christian practice and of the Christian character. Every believer is Christ's *διάκονος*, but not every one is Christ's *ὑπηρέτης*. It is impossible, again, to delimit a ministry in the proper sense by the criterion of *gift;* for all have gifts, and all (potentially or in degree) have every gift,[1] seeing that it is the same Spirit which each has received; though, for reasons individual to the several subjects of the Spirit's indwelling, the manifestation of the Spirit's influence may differ. It is impossible to delimit a ministry by the criterion of *speciality* of gift: speciality of charisma is a matter of degree; all have charismata, and all have (potentially or in degree) all charismata, and especially all have the charismata of prophecy and of teaching—there is no disciple who cannot show the way of the Lord, or who may not be the medium of expressing the mind of the Spirit; there is no

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 5, 7, 31; xiv. 1, 31, 39.

definite point at which possession of gift or of grace can be said to remove its possessor into a separate category.[1] It is equally impossible to employ for this purpose the criterion of the *exercise* of gift; Timothy's *διακονία* was what it was, and his charisma was in him, whether he stirred it up or neglected it.[2] Least of all, perhaps, is it possible in the sense intended to delimit a ministry by the criterion of *lifelong devotion* [3] to a specific activity. The Christian world is full of lifelong consecrations to particular services and causes, which derive much of their specific value from their spontaneous and unofficial character. "Temperance" work, "rescue" work, the circulation of the Scriptures, are *διακονίαι* of the highest efficiency; but to classify them as ministries in the sense in which we discuss the origin of the ministry would in no way advance knowledge. The work of foreign missions, again, is a clearly demarcated *διακονία*, but it is in no relevant sense a separate "ministry"; it offers itself to Christians of every status; it cuts across all distinctions, and employs women as well as men, schoolmasters, gardeners, carpenters, printers, translators as well as "ministers," and draws with it a host of fellow-workers who adhere to its organisation without engaging in its immediate operation.

[1] See Principal Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 69–71; where he is extremely convincing and satisfactory.

[2] 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6.

[3] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–5, 82; Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity* (trans. Williams & Norgate, 1904), pp. 435 ff.

Foreign evangelism is a direction of effort and interest which ought to appeal to all Christians alike. The distinction of the Church's evangelistic from its pastoral function is a valid one, but it is not a distinction with separate "ministries" in the sense under consideration. Any Christian minister is available for either sphere; any Christian layman may find his individual vocation in the service of either side of the Church's vocation. In whichever service either prefers to engage, the minister continues to be a minister and the layman to be a layman.

Does any better criterion of what is properly intended when we speak of a ministry suggest itself?

One clear note would unquestionably be that which has sometimes been claimed for charismatics,[1] namely, that local Churches depended upon them for ministrations, "special" or otherwise. Any order of men upon whom the Church depends for the ministration of grace must certainly be in every sense of the word a ministry. For this claim on behalf of charismatics it would, however, be difficult to discover any ground whatever outside of the *Didache;* and a doubt as to the value of the evidence of the *Didache* has already been suggested (see p. 75). While as a matter of fact the *Didache* itself does not either assert or imply such dependence,

[1] Turner, *Camb. Med. Hist.*, I. vi., pp. 144, 145; Rawlinson, *Foundations*, App., p. 415. Cf. Gore, *Church and Ministry*, pp. 255–7.

but categorically asserts the contrary, that bishops and deacons also minister the ministry of prophets and teachers (c. XV. 1).

Or one might with some confidence suggest the criterion of *responsibility*. All have graces, and all are called to services—so far as these things go there is no difference between Christian and Christian except difference of degree. We do not, however, ascribe to all that specific responsibility for charge, the idea of which it is difficult to eliminate from our conception of anything that calls itself ministry. An irresponsible ministry is pretty well a contradiction in terms. Apostles were responsible persons: St. Paul carried the burden of all the Churches; there is clear acceptance of respective responsibilities in the allocation of spheres which is described in Gal. ii. 7–9; the note of conscious responsibility runs through all the apostolic epistles: we cannot imagine St. Paul, St. Peter, St. James or St. John as repudiating it. The apostolic delegates, Timothy, Titus and the rest, were clearly responsible persons and could be taken to task. A presbyter was a responsible person, as St. Paul made clear to those who met him at Miletus[1]: the presbyter had received his charge as overseer of the flock of God, and it was his task to watch over that and as its shepherd to feed it.[2] The deacon was a responsible person, "serving an office" and answerable for trust.[3] In this feature

[1] Acts xx. 17 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* 28, 31; conf. 1 Peter v. 2–3; 1 Tim. v. 17. [3] 1 Tim. iii. 13.

we find something definite and apprehensible by which to recognise Christ's ὑπηρέτης.

This note of responsibility for charge attends the ministry of subsequent periods. Clement supports the presbyters of Corinth as men who have received a trust and have been faithful to it.[1] To Ignatius, the bishop, the presbyter and the deacon are distinctively men placed in responsibility, the men to whom his appeal must be directed and who shall give account of their response to it. For Hermas the presbyters are the responsible persons to whom the Lady of his vision (*i. e.* the Church) requires that her message be delivered,[2] Clement (as one of them in particular office) having special duty to deal with it. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippian Church, knows the responsibility of deacons and presbyters, and mourns for Valens, the backsliding presbyter, that he has so little understood the trust assigned to him. Ministry and responsibility are correlative—to repudiate the one is to repudiate the other.

The prophetic or charismatic ministry, as it is described, lacks this note of responsibility for charge : " they were not responsible to any Society of Christians." [3] But what is that but to say that they occupied no defined relation to the Society of Christians, were not parts of the articulation of the Body[4]—that they were not a ministry? Harnack is logical when he speaks of the supposed authority

[1] *Ad Cor.* xliv. 9.
[2] *Vis.* ii. 4.
[3] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
[4] Ephes. iv. 16.

of such a ministry as "despotism"[1]: power without responsibility is despotism. An ethical responsibility to conscience and to God, the Judge of all, exists of course in every man's case and for any course of action, but that is not to the purpose; the responsibility in question is obviously one which the Church has laid upon its members, fidelity to which the Church can require. In the case of the charismatic there is no trace of such an attribution or of such a demand. The prophet is never blamed for what in the Church's condition or conduct is blameworthy[2]; the prophet is never called to account; the prophet is never asked for help. It is not merely that specific instances of such appeal or of such reprobation cannot be instanced—it is that the idea is absent; there is nothing to suggest that the charismatic person as such is a responsible person. If there existed in or round the centres of Apostolic anxiety a charismatic ministry which, as we are told, "dominated or controlled," or even one which exercised "very great authority," its responsibility in certain cases must have been great, and it is incredible that it should never have been reminded of that fact: that St. Paul, for example, should have made no call for the testimony of prophets in Galatia, and should offer to Timothy no guidance for

[1] *Theol. Lit. Zeitung*, 1889, pp. 420, 421, quoted as above.

[2] False prophets are blamed for prophesying falsely, but one does not understand them to be a ministry. St. Paul's appeal to the Spiritual, Gal. vi. 1 (conf. 1 Cor. ii. 14; iii. 1), is not an appeal to prophets or to a charismatic order or class, but is an appeal to Christian men on their profession.

his relation to them at Ephesus, and that Clement should not have invoked their support for his remonstrance with the Corinthian Church. It is incomprehensible in that case that (to use a Hibernicism) Ignatius should apparently have met no prophet but himself between Antioch and Troas. Had there been any Christian ministry besides that of bishops presbyters and deacons in the Churches to which he writes, any dominating controlling ministry or even one of very great authority, he must either have sought its advocacy in the cause of unity for whose interest he writes, or if he did not (though it is difficult to suppose that a spiritual ministry would not be with him in that cause) he must at least have allowed us to infer a reason why he should neglect to invoke so powerful an ally. The argument from silence is, of course, to be used with caution, but sometimes it may approach to demonstration. In this case the argument is not that the prophet is not mentioned; it is that when his help is needed it is not asked; no one thinks of asking it—he is not a responsible person. But responsibility is a necessary note of recognised ministry.

It is convenient to instance the *prophet*, because the prophetic character is by general consent the most distinctive in the conception of charismatic ministry, and because the " prophet " imports into the question less ambiguity than the " apostle." The " apostle " is claimed on all hands. He stands at the head of both series of persons for whom the character of ministry is asserted. The regular

ministry of the Catholic Church traces derivation from apostles; the advocates of a theory of twofold ministry place the apostle at the head of the charismatic series as it is supposed to be arranged in the lists given by St. Paul. Unfortunately the opposed theories do not employ the term in precisely the same extent. In the Catholic system the apostle is assumed in a narrower, for the theory of charismatic ministry in a wider, sense.[1] As has been already pointed out (p. 109), Christian terminology was in the first period in process of extraction from the common stock of speech; the words extracted and specialised for Christian purposes were words in frequent use for ordinary purposes, and their partial specialisation did not interfere with that ordinary employment of them—whence the need of care in arguing from them where they occur. This care is needed in the case of *ἀποστέλλω* and its derivatives, such as *ἀπόστολος*.

The idea of Mission (*ἀποστολή*) is, as has been said,[2] the background of Christianity as an organised system. Behind Christ is God, the Source of redemption. To Christ the Father is "He who sent Him"[3]; He Himself is "the Sent of the Father."[4] In His turn Christ became the Sender; as the Father had sent Him, so He sent others into the world[5]:

[1] "It was the Apostolate in its widest extent that was part of the prophetic ministry of the primitive Churches:" Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[2] Turner, *Studies*, p. 12.

[3] St. John viii. 29, etc.

[4] *Ibid.* x. 36, etc.

[5] *Ibid.* xvii. 18; xx. 21.

these He named "the Sent," *Apostles*.[1] As Christ presented Himself to the world in the Name of the Father, so they presented themselves to the world in the Name of Christ. They now became the Senders of others: "through them alone came the gift of the Holy Ghost, conveyed by the laying on of hands; they or those commissioned by them appointed or ratified the appointment of even the local officials in each infant community."[2] The Church founded on them is itself a mission and the constant origin of mission. This idea of mission was the inspiration of its activities and was at the same time the safeguard of its order, for mission was necessary to those who should represent it; men could not preach (*κηρύξουσιν*, speak as King's messengers) unless they were sent (*ἀποσταλῶσιν*).[3]

Ἀποστέλλειν may then very well be, as it is, constantly recurrent in the New Testament; and *ἀπόστολος*, its cognate noun, might be expected to occur with proportionate frequency. As a matter of fact, however, it is not proportionately frequent, the probable reason being that our Lord had assigned it as the title of His immediate delegates. St. Paul (who is outside of the circle of immediate Dominical contacts and is not restricted by the usages of that circle) uses the word much in discussion of his own personal position; St. Luke, who is St. Paul's disciple and follows him in his application of the term, employs it occasionally in his Gospel and habitually in the Acts. Otherwise it is of rare occurrence.

[1] St. Luke vi. 13. [2] Turner, *ut supra*. [3] Rom. x. 15.

St. Matthew has it only of the original commission to the disciples,[1] and St. Mark only of their return from the first circuit [2]; St. John only once, and then in its etymological sense.[3] In his Gospel St. Luke, besides the record of the call of the disciples and a quotation in which it is used etymologically,[4] has it three times,[5] and in one of these places (the second of them) substitutes it for the *δώδεκα* of the other synoptists. Elsewhere, outside of St. Paul and of the Book of Acts, it is found, applied etymologically to our Lord, in Heb. iii. 1; in 1 Peter i. 1 (twice in 2 Peter), and in St. Jude 17; in the Apocalypse three times.[6] In the Gospels [7] the ordinary style is "the Twelve" (thirty-one times); and this term is found, besides, once in Acts and once in the Apocalypse.

In St. Paul's writings and in the Book of Acts, which in a usage of this sort may be grouped together, the word "apostle" is found used in a sense midway between that in which it applies distinc-

[1] St. Matt. x. 2. [2] St. Mark vi. 30.

[3] "Neither he that is sent greater than He that sent him," St. John xiii. 16.

[4] Behold I send unto you prophets and messengers (*ἀποστόλους*), St. Luke xi. 49.

[5] *Ibid.* xvii. 5; xxii. 14; xxiv. 10.

[6] The *etymological* use of "Apostle" in these passages is not to be confounded with the *lower* or more extended use of it in its technical sense in such passages as 2 Cor. viii. 23 or Phil. ii. 25

[7] Obviously the Gospels in their preference of "the Twelve" to "the apostles" represent a wider practice, and in the case of St. John a later practice, than that of St. Paul and St. Luke, who prefer to say "apostles."

tively to the Twelve and the colloquial sense in which it appears in St. Luke xi. 49, St. John xiii. 16, Heb. iii. 1—to describe a delegate acting in special commission, or perhaps as almost the equivalent of our "missionary," which, apart from technical association, would exactly render it.[1] Paul thus calls Epaphroditus the emissary (*ἀπόστολος*) of the Philippians.[2] To the Corinthians he describes certain brethren, the companions of Titus, as "messengers" (*ἀπόστολοι*) of the Churches and of Christ the glory,[3] this last clause inserted to make clear that they are not called apostles in relation to Christ. In these passages St. Paul leaves no doubt of the "lower sense" in which he there applies the term *apostle*, and makes it no less clear that in using it in this lower sense he is aware that the word has a higher meaning. He is less clear in his description of Andronicus and Junias, who are said to be *ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*[4] (A.V. "of note among the apostles"); it is uncertain whether this means "esteemed by the apostles" or "esteemed among the apostles"—Zahn, for example, supports the former, Lightfoot the latter, while Weizsäcker treats the point as undetermined, but favours "among." If the name Junias be, as some think, that of a woman, there could hardly be question that

[1] We ourselves may speak of Ninian as apostle of the Picts or Boniface of Germany without confusing them in office with the apostles.

[2] *Ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον καὶ λειτουργὸν τῆς χρείας μου.* chap. ii. 25; the *ὑμῶν* is emphatic.

[3] 2 Cor. viii. 23.

[4] Rom. xvi. 7.

apostle is here equivalent to "missionary"; many women are and have been missionaries, but Paul did not suffer a woman to speak in the Church. It is at least possible that here Paul uses the word in a sense so far technical that he applies it to a class or group; if so, still in a sense etymologically determined, and not determined by analogy with its specific application to the Twelve. I am not able to find that Barnabas is called an apostle to the Gentiles in the Epistle to the Galatians,[1] though the idea that he was an apostle (as St. Paul was) may be implied there and in 1 Cor. ix. 5: "We . . . as well as other apostles." St. Luke certainly does bracket him with Paul in "the apostles" of Acts xiv. 4, 14. Silas and Timothy may be included in St. Paul's "we" of 1 Thess., and so be numbered among "the apostles" of chap. ii. 6, though the etymological meaning of apostle would there be quite satisfactory.[2]

[1] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 79. St. Paul is careful to maintain the singular number in his narrative of the incident of the recognition of respective spheres.

[2] In 1 Cor. xv. 5–7, St. Paul recounts a series of our Lord's post-resurrection appearances. Among these he names two in the following terms: "He was seen . . . of the Twelve . . . then of all the apostles." It has been suggested that St. Paul here distinguishes "the Twelve" from "all the apostles," using the word "apostles" in a sense wider than that in which it was applied to the Twelve. This would ascribe to Paul the view that even before the Ascension, "apostle" had received the wider extension; looking back he found it proper to recognise under that name a larger circle of our Lord's emissaries and to distinguish them by it. Having regard to St. Paul's employment

To enter further into this seems hardly necessary, since the instances given above suffice to make it indisputable that St. Paul applies the term "apostle" to other than the Twelve. One can see reason why, not being himself one of the Twelve, but claiming (and the claim has been always admitted) to share their prerogative, he should have inclined to emphasise the characteristic of *mission* in which he did share with them, and then to recognise it, so far as it existed in others, with a conciliatory

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of the term in other connections it might not seem entirely impossible that he should apply it, for example, to the Seventy.

At the same time it is improbable that he should have done so. There is not a trace of such an extension of the scope of the word "apostle" *within the Gospels*, and St. Paul could hardly have learned it from the tradition which he here declares himself to deliver as he had received it. The narrative as to the Seventy is St. Luke's, and it carefully distinguishes the Seventy from those whom Christ "named apostles" (St. Luke x. 1; comp. chap. vi. 13).

The inference that St. Paul distinguishes the subjects of the two appearances is unnecessary; the two clauses do not immediately follow each other—if they did, a distinction between "the Twelve" and "all the apostles" would, of course, be unmistakable; as it is, St. Paul may merely be avoiding, as most writers try to do, repetition of phraseology; he may only mean to say "then again to the Twelve"; or in the "all" there may be a reminiscence of the absence of one apostle, St. Thomas, at the Lord's first appearance to the apostles as a group: or St. Paul may wish to introduce the word "apostles" immediately before mention of the appearance to himself, and to remind us that he, like "all the apostles," had also "seen the Lord." He is not in any case writing with care to be precise; at the point to which he refers the exact description should have been "the Eleven" (Acts ii. 14).

generosity. It is evident that the original apostles were customarily referred to as the Twelve—Paul could not so speak of himself as to be included in that title. For this plural, "the Twelve," the only singular is "One of the Twelve," which in his case would have been inaccurate. By a sort of necessity Paul fell back upon that other title, which could be used of an individual and which properly expressed what he had in common with the Twelve: he, too, was "sent" of Christ—in a manner which, indeed, was not that of the sending of the Twelve, but which was equally definite and was to the same effect. Having adopted the word, which we must remember was not to him, as it is to us, a purely technical word of one single application, but was pregnant with derivative force, he uses it with some freedom and more frequently than others seem to have done: he plays upon its grammatical meaning; he shares it readily with others, so far as they at all share in what it implies; in the quality, that is, of mission. From St. Paul Luke has caught the trick of speech—*apostle* is the word that comes most readily to his pen—once in his Gospels he actually substitutes it for "the Twelve," which the source before him offered; he calls the second book of his proposed trilogy the Acts, not "of the Twelve," which would not at all have suited his scheme, but "of the apostles," so finding room within its scope not only for the earlier Jerusalem incidents, but also for the journey of his beloved master and leader; and in it he avoids, except once, mention of "the Twelve"

by that title, though we know from the Gospels that it, and not "apostles," was the phrase currently employed.

So far then as the Canonical sources [1] inform us,

[1] There is from non-canonical sources a certain amount of evidence of a consciousness that the word "apostle" is capable of the wider sense. Not in Clement: to him "the apostles" are strictly the Twelve with Paul, from whom even Barnabas is distinguished. Barnabas in speaking of Christ's τοὺς ἀποστόλους may be thought to show the feeling that there were also apostles who were not in the same sense apostles of Christ, but it is doubtful if that is his thought—the τοὺς, like the other qualification, "who were afterwards to publish His Gospel," may seem rather to be related to the statement that these whom Christ chose to be His own apostles and to evangelise were "men who had been very great sinners." Hermas (*Simil.* ix. 15, 16, 25) unmistakably speaks of apostles in the wider sense; the fourth course of his mystical Tower consists of forty, who are "apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God." In the *Visions*, on the other hand (iii. 5), he has in view the Ministry in its completeness, regarded as foundational to the Church's life—"the square and white stones which fit exactly in their joints are the apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons"—in this classification (in which *teachers* appear as the equivalent of presbyters) the apostles intended seem to be strictly the Twelve, regarded as the source of ministry; for had the charismatic idea been present to the writer's mind, prophets must have appeared in the catalogue along with apostles and teachers as in the catalogue of the Similitudes. The conclusion would be that to Hermas "the apostles" when named absolutely and without qualification, mean the apostles in the higher sense, and stand at the head of the "regular" ministries; but that he knows also of apostles in the lower sense, whom he groups with teachers, and names after prophets, and explains as "apostles . . . of the preaching of the Son of God," that is as evangelists: apostles proper in this passage appearing as the ten stones placed at

the lower or wider sense of "apostle" seems to be only Pauline.[1] We have no evidence that it was general. Paul himself seems to be perfectly conscious that he uses it somewhat loosely.[2] He is extremely sensible of the distinctive character of the apostleship of the Twelve, equivalence to which he asserted for his own apostleship. He certainly would not, for example, have claimed for Epaphroditus or for Junias in his commendations of them, what in well-known passages [3] he claims for himself. He concedes to them, certainly, a part in his vocation—he recognises that they and he alike are men who are "sent" to their work and who go to it in the supporting consciousness that they are not self-sent —and he takes advantage of the grammatical force of the word ἀπόστολος to imply so much; but not, perhaps, to imply more.[4] St. Luke follows him in giving the word the same somewhat undefined scope.

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the foundation, who "were of the first age." Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 12) remembers that such a wider usage of the term apostle has existed and should be noticed; but he knows little about it, and commits himself to nothing, speaking of "many others who were called apostles in imitation of the Twelve."

[1] The exception to this statement may be the pseud-apostles of Rev. ii. 2; but the terminology of Apocalypse is symbolic, not historical, and the use of the word there is probably dependent on its use by St. Paul.

[2] Phil. ii. 25; 2 Cor. viii. 23.

[3] 1 Cor. ix. 1; 2 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. ii. 7–8; 1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11, etc.

[4] It may not be without significance that St. Paul always escapes directly describing Barnabas as an apostle, just as he avoids calling Timothy an apostle: see Colos. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 1;

But nothing shows that any confusion existed between the Twelve, "the Apostles," "the Apostles of the Lord" (with whom St. Paul is to be numbered), and the general company of evangelists and missionaries, or that the Twelve merged into one order with evangelists and missionaries in general, or that evangelists and missionaries in general were ever reckoned in one class with the Twelve, or were ever, *in common with them*, known as apostles.

"The true apostles," as Lightfoot calls them,[1] stood alone; they were apostles of Christ as Christ was Apostle of the Father, the executors of the

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Phil. i. 1. In the case of men so prominent his use of the word might have led to confusion between the two senses in which Paul seems to have applied it. In effect, he denies it to any except himself and the Eleven: "when Paul places in the subscription of some Epistle, together with his own name, the names of some of his co-workers, he is careful not to give them a title which is not theirs:" so Batiffol (*Prim. Cath.*, p. 40), comparing the phraseology of 1 Cor. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 1; Ephes. i. 1 with that of 2 Cor. i. 1, and Colos. i. 1, and again with that of Phil. i. 1; 1 Thess. i. 2; Thess. i. 1. In a sense—an etymological sense—which for purposes of exposition could be pressed somewhat farther than the purely etymological, they might sometimes be described as apostles: but "Apostles of Christ Jesus," as he was, they were not. The Apostleship proper, in fact, is not in Paul's view a charismatic function—it is an office dependent on Christ's appointment and limited to those to whom Christ has directly given it.

[1] *Dissertation* appended to *Commentary on Epistle to the Philippians*, 7th ed., p. 196. Principal Lindsay speaks of "the unique position occupied by the Eleven and by St. Paul." It is, at least, a tenable opinion that the pre-pentecostal choice of Matthias was of no effect, and that St. Paul was divinely called to be the twelfth apostle.

New Testament and the medium of the transmission to the Church of Christ's deposit of doctrine and ordinance. To use an old phrase which has sanction in Scottish theology, they were the "first depositaries of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." From them, if the New Testament sources are to be trusted, the Church's historical ministry has derived by way of delegation. At first containing in themselves all ministry, they "committed to other faithful men" such of its functions as were transmissible: first relieving themselves of the less sacred, but still sacred, charge of ministry to temporal need—a demission of which we have detailed record, probably intended (for it is St. Luke's manner to illustrate methods, rather than to narrate every instance of their application) to be illustrative of further demissions which are undescribed; and next devolving functions which were directly spiritual —those of pastorate, discipline and ministry of the Word and Sacraments. The Apostles appear as the centre from which mission and authority radiate. There is no record of any other such source, and no record of activity which dispenses with this source or proceeds without dependence upon it. One figure indeed, that of Apollos, moves for a moment upon the fringe of the Christian Society in a unique independence, but forthwith is drawn into its orderly system. St. Luke avoids detail as to this case of Apollos and the dealings of "the brethren" at Ephesus with it; but he goes on immediately to the case of "certain disciples" whom St. Paul found

at Corinth, whose doctrinal and ecclesiastical position was similar to that of Apollos; and he is explicit as to St. Paul's dealings with *them*. Luke's delicacy in reference to Apollos need not hide from us what is so transparent—his intention to convey to us that such cases as that of Apollos and of those disciples at Corinth required to be and were regularised.

The apostleship proper had a double function. It had the pastoral care of the Church and its members; and in this it came to be represented by the regular ministry to which pastoral affairs were committed: we have record of the manner of the apostles' provision for that end as the area of the Church was extended.[1] But they had also, and even primarily, the function of evangelisation—that missionary vocation to which the name "apostle" most properly refers. In the discharge of this function we find them associating with themselves colleagues, assistants, delegates; some of whom may have in the general regard ranked almost with themselves, as at least two, Barnabas and James the Just, certainly did, and perhaps also Apollos; others who were their companions and subordinates in their own circuits, as were Luke and Silas with Paul, or Mark with Peter; others who were their

[1] Acts xiv. 23; Tit. 1–5. These give us St. Paul's practice, but the same is recorded of St. John (Eus., *H. E.*, iii. 23); and at the date of St. Paul's ordinations in Lycaonia and Pamphylia, the position of presbyters at Jerusalem was already sufficiently defined to imply some length of prescription (Acts xv. 2, 4, 6, 22).

trusted representatives in particular spheres, as Timothy and Titus were for Paul; and with these it is at least possible, a body of the earlier Dominical discipleship[1] — we have no certainty that the Seventy, for example, may not have been recognised as holding along with the apostles some prescription,[2] though less defined, from the Lord's selection of them for His service, or that they did not continue after Pentecost in active prosecution of it. It is prudent, perhaps, to admit an uncertainty as to the precise relation of men like Barnabas and James to the apostles proper, and as to those gradations within the circle around the apostleship, of which there are indications.[2] There was an apostolic function of world-wide evangelism, and there was an apostolic staff which this function engaged. This staff was in the nature of things ambulatory, oecumenical, authoritative: it was a missionary staff; and missionaries peregrinate, missionaries exercise authority over local churches and their infant ministries. But in all this, it is with a working staff, a practical organisation, that we have to do, and not with a charismatic ministry—with apostolic agencies which are not self-validated and are not qualified only by gift and are not irresponsible, but are selected and are sent and are accountable to the authority which they represent.

[1] Andronicus and Junias were kinsmen of Paul, therefore Hebrews, and were in Christ before Paul, and were at least "men of note."

[2] See Gore, *Church and Ministry*, pp. 201, 213 *n.*, 259.

As to apostleship, however, this ambiguity of usage, in a stricter and in a wider sense, does exist, and for clearness it is convenient to take the *prophet* as the typical charismatic and to investigate his position. That it is proper to do so appears from the fact that the terms *prophetic ministry* and *charismatic ministry* are not seldom used as interchangeable. If the prophet is found occupying something which can be recognised as a definite ministry, the theory of "double ministry" is so far established.

What, then, is a prophet? He is a man to whom the mind of God is revealed. He has spiritual intuition. Prophecy in the spiritual region corresponds to genius in the intellectual, and like genius has the quality of necessity. As Lord Lytton has said, "Genius does what it must; talent does what it can." Like genius, prophecy has that character of the unaccountable which we call inspiration: it sees, it knows; and what it knows seems to it not its own, but given to it, and given for others as a message to be delivered; both genius and prophet are compelled to seek expression. The prophet is conscious of God and of God's thought and will; he reads God's purpose and thrills to the Divine emotions, rejoicing with God's joy and angry with God's indignation. He may even respond to God's omniscience and be sensitive to the future as it lies in God's knowledge, and prophecy may then show itself as prediction; though prediction is far from being its characteristic, except in so far as sympathy

with the Divine approbations and disapprobations may make plain to the prophetic mind the issues of conduct, or may impress it with foreboding or with confidence, which rest upon insight into the principles which determine the action of providence.[1] In both Old Testament and New, trance and vision appear as modes of prophecy, but must be accounted as lower forms of it and among those which may "fail" and cease,[2] as the higher and essential prophecy cannot. Trance and vision may occur to persons who are not prophets; Ananias was no more than "a certain disciple"[3]; and it is improbable that Pilate's wife[4] was a prophetess. If apocalypse is also to be reckoned with prophecy, it would seem to be rather a "by-product" of its energy—St. Paul clearly differentiates it from prophecy, grouping it with a class of utterances whose common characteristic is that they interpret or have need of interpretation—while prophecy rather calls for the exercise of discrimination.[5] Jewish apocalyptic appeared on the wane of prophecy of the more genuine type. As to recorded apocalypse there must always remain the uncertainty whether it is a record of actual vision or is prediction cast in the

[1] It is to be expected that narrative such as that of Acts should emphasise the predictive side of prophecy, since prediction, where it occurred, would affect the development of the story which is recorded. Yet the Book of Acts records only two instances of prediction, both by the same individual, chaps. xi. 28 and xxi. 10–11.

[2] 1 Cor. xiii. 8.

[3] Acts ix. 10.

[4] St. Matt. xxvii. 19.

[5] 1 Cor. xiv. 26–9.

literary form of vision described. For St. Paul the criterion of prophecy proper was that the prophet retained control of his faculties and exercised a concurrent criticism of his own utterances, as the subject of trance or vision cannot.[1] One ground of the condemnation of Montanistic prophecy was, therefore, its ecstatic character. The prophet is not a "medium"; he is a man interiorly illuminated by the Spirit to the apprehension of God and of the mind of God. He is required to co-ordinate his utterance with the norm of belief delivered to him and to his hearers—it must follow "the analogy of the faith."[2]

One distinctive feature of the Messianic kingdom was to be that the Spirit of God, formerly given to the few, who by it were constituted prophets, should then be poured upon all[3]; not that the gift should

[1] As St. Paul conceives of it, prophecy under the New Testament is not "a supernatural power" (Cotterill, *Genesis of the Church*, p. 422), in such a sense that it should interfere with the play of a man's own rational faculties or spiritual capacities, and therefore be inconsistent with the perfection of either. It is a manifestation of new nature created in man by his reception of the Holy Spirit. The Christian nature is itself supernatural in relation to humanity in general, but prophecy is not supernatural to the Christian in whom the life of Christ is normal. It is the exercise of faculties which are exalted, and of capacities which are spiritualised. Not the power is supernatural, but the man (1 Cor. ii. 12–16)—the power is one element of the nature which he has received from on high, and prophecy is its natural exercise.

[2] Rom. xii. 6, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως. "The prophecy required to agree with the settled doctrines of the faith" (Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, II., p. 271).

[3] Joel ii. 28–9.

be more general, but that as within the kingdom it should be universal—sons, daughters, old men, young men, slaves and slave women should alike receive the Spirit and should prophesy and see visions and dream dreams; St. Peter identified the event of Pentecost as the fulfilment of this promise.[1] At Pentecost the Holy Spirit came upon the whole Church: "they were all filled with the Holy Ghost."[2] The prophetic gift is the direct and inseparable result of possession of the Spirit of God, and is therefore an essential feature of the new nature begotten in all who are in Christ Jesus, and is common to all Christians in measure as they are Christian. Our Lord addresses His Discipleship as a prophetic company, successors of the prophets of the former dispensation: "So persecuted they the prophets which were before you." The least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than the greatest of the prophets of the past age—greater than the Baptist, who is himself more than a prophet.[3] Christ's sheep know Christ's voice.[4] The children of God, little children though they be, have an unction from the Holy One, and they know all things and need not that any man teach them; the same anointing, if they abide in Christ, teaches them all things.[5] The spiritual man judges all things; he has the

[1] Acts ii. 17. [2] *Ibid.* ver. 4.

[3] *Τοὺς προφήτας τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν*, St. Matt. v. 12; *μείζων . . . προφήτης Ιωάννου . . . οὐδείς ἐστιν. ὁ δὲ μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστι*, St. Luke vii. 28. St. Luke clearly understands the comparison as being in respect of prophetic rank.

[4] St. John x. 4. [5] 1 St. John ii. 20, 27.

mind of Christ; he has received the Spirit of God.[1]

The primitive Church had constant occasion to observe the fact that belief in Christ was followed by the development of an understanding of the things of God, of a power to judge life and conduct from the Divine point of view, to evince insight into Heavenly matters and to assent to Christ's estimate of values. The man who received Christ received power to become a son of God.[2] We are ourselves familiar with the experience of interior

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 11–16. That St. Paul is here dealing with an esoteric caste of πνευματικοὶ within the general discipleship, is a supposition which has little to commend it. All Christians are, or should be, πνευματικοί; it is to that fact that St. Paul appeals. He speaks as a Christian man to Christian men; the "we" of the passage does not refer to Paul and his associates as charismatic or as apostolic persons, but to Paul and the Corinthians as partakers in Christ and His Spirit. No doubt St. Paul has in view a manner of speech which was probably current at Corinth and elsewhere—then as now, there may have been those who regarded themselves as "Christians" in an esoteric sense, and despised others. But it does not appear that St. Paul accepted the claim, or that there existed any definite group known as "the spiritual," or that it was composed of prophets and charismatics. In Gal. vi. 1, St. Paul appeals to "the spiritual" in a perfectly simple sequence from a context addressed to all: "as we live by the Spirit, so we should walk in the Spirit; men who have the Spirit of Christ should do their best to restore the fallen and all of us should bear one another's burdens." Possibly ὑμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοὶ may contain a hint to the *unco guid* in Galatia to exercise charity as well as judgment; but it does not recognise them as a charismatic group.

[2] St. John i. 12.

illumination which follows the change which we call conversion, old things becoming new in the new apprehension of their truth, so that to the converted the Gospel at first seems a discovery peculiar to himself, and next a truth which he finds to be echoing round him in countless voices which he had not before understood—for spiritual things are spiritually discerned. It is this apprehension of the Divine and Heavenly which is the proper fruit of the Spirit as a prophetic Spirit taking the things of Christ and showing them to us. "The testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of prophecy." [1]

The prophetic illumination involves the impulse to expression. At Pentecost those who were filled with the Holy Spirit forthwith began to speak as the Spirit gave them utterance, and men heard them tell the wonderful works of God. In all cases the soul illuminated desires to teach what it knows, to commend what it perceives to be right, and to reprove what it condemns. This desire is a distinctive note of inspiration, whether intellectual or spiritual. The convert feels that it is laid upon him to testify. He does not, however, in all cases become the preacher; the prophetic soul does not in all cases proceed to prophesy. Expression depends upon a variety of condition: upon mental equipment, temperamental inclination, fluency, courage, circumstance. All are not so swift as Isaiah to answer the call, "Whom shall I send?" —there are many who rather say, with Jeremiah,

[1] Rev. xix. 10.

"I cannot speak, for I am a child," or who protest with Amos their lack of training. There are mute, inglorious Miltons of the Spirit also.

In other cases the vocation may be urgent enough, as it was with Jeremiah and Amos, to overcome reluctance, or there is natural facility, or there are circumstances which push to the front the gifted man and open his mouth to deliver his message, so that his gift comes to be recognised. In the differentiation of grace one is peculiarly adapted to one service, another to another; prophecy is indicated by St. Paul as the service to which some are distinctively called. At the same time it is not the act of expression—it is the fact of illumination—which constitutes the prophet. The gift is there before the use of gift; and the gift may be possessed without its utilisation. One may compare the prophetic faculty to the musical. Every normal person is sensitive to the power of music, has some discrimination between the better and the worse in music, and some power, if the power be developed and trained, to reproduce music. But all have not musical genius, and of those who have, all are not composers, nor do all even possess the musical gift in such degree that they can be called musicians. At the same time the sense of music is common to the genius who composes masterpieces or who interprets and executes them, and to the ordinary person who can only feel the value or perhaps judge the merit of the work of genius: it is scarcely possible to say at what point of ability or culture any individual

should be described as a musician. In a somewhat similar way it would be difficult to say at what point the possession of the prophetic gift constitutes a prophet—the prophetic Spirit is common to Christians; it is as necessary in him who judges the utterances of prophecy as in him who utters it. But to judge prophesyings is the duty of all, and all have capability to do so.[1]

There will, however, be those in whom the spiritual discernment, in which all share, is full and brilliant—to whom that vision of Divine things which for most of us is blurred and uncertain is clear. There will be those who can utter what many feel, in whom the common grace is rich and practised, and its utterance is with power. There will be those through whom men expect in their need to receive counsel, to whom the Church is accustomed to hearken. Such were probably those whom the New Testament calls *par excellence* prophets; in no sense an order or caste, but men who in fact prophesied, and whose prophesying commended itself. Prophecy was the prerogative of no individual nor of any group. St. Paul can wish for all that they might prophesy,[2] and can direct how such a case should be dealt with[3]; and describes an actual state of things in which "everyone" had a psalm, a teaching, an apocalypse or an interpretation. According to the highly instructive account of Hermas,[4] a man who had the Spirit of God came into the assembly and

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 29.
[2] *Ibid.* ver. 5.
[3] *Ibid.* vv. 24, 31.
[4] *Mand.* xi. 9.

in the course of ordinary worship was filled with the Spirit, and spoke as he was moved. If this were to occur frequently in the case of the same person, he would no doubt come to be spoken of as "a prophet;" but the difference between him and his fellow Christian would be one of degree, not a difference, which should put such a man in a category by himself. We speak of some men as thinkers, but more or less we all think; thinkers can never be officially such, nor can prophets (within the Christian system) be officially prophets; an official prophet was not a prophet, but a medicine-man. Prophecy is a grace of the Spirit and an element of our common life in Christ, underlying every Christian activity and conditioning the whole development of Christian doctrine and morals; but it is not a specialised ministry —it is universally present wherever Christ lives in His members.[1]

Our knowledge of Christian prophecy in its recognised manifestation is gained almost exclusively from Pauline sources[2]—that is, from St. Paul

[1] St. Paul expects a negative answer to his question, "Are all prophets?" (1 Cor. xii. 29). The question of nomenclature is discussed later (p. 196). St. Paul addresses the Corinthians in their own phraseology, and no doubt they are accustomed to speak of some as especially prophets. None the less, St. Paul treats prophecy as a gift common to Christians: "If all prophesy," ver. 24; "Ye may all prophesy one by one," ver. 31.

[2] The statement that the phenomena of prophecy followed St. Paul's ministrations or was peculiarly frequent in the Churches of his foundation does not seem to be supported by the facts. The prophets of the Acts are all Judaean: see Acts xi. 27, 28; xiii. 1; xv. 32; xxi. 9, 10.

himself, or from the Acts narrative of his friend and disciple St. Luke; other explicit reference to it occurs only in the Apocalypse, whose mystical language can hardly be considered a source of historical information.

1. In the Book of Acts prophets appear in connection with three series of circumstances. The first of these is the coming of certain prophets from Jerusalem to Antioch.[1] This incident is related in sequence to the mission thither of Barnabas from the Mother Church at Jerusalem.[2] St. Luke mentions it in order to introduce Agabus and his prediction of famine, which had important consequence since it led to the first Christian collection for distant need; St. Luke does not concern himself with the reason of their presence at Antioch, but the natural inference is that they came as Barnabas had come, that is, because they were sent, and that along with Barnabas they represented the authority of the Jerusalem Church where the apostles had their centre. Those selected for this purpose were, as it happened, prophets; it is not suggested that they were selected or sent as prophets. Barnabas was also a prophet; but he was chosen to go to Antioch, not as a prophet, but because he was a kind man (χρηστός) and likely to take upon its good side the movement there which he went to examine. Paul was also a prophet, but it was not on that account that Barnabas went to Tarsus to fetch him to his help in developing that movement at Antioch, but because

[1] Chap. xi. 27. [2] Chap. xi. 22.

at Damascus Paul had already proved himself to be the right man for such work. Luke mentions that the members of the reinforcing mission who followed Barnabas from Jerusalem to Antioch were prophets, not as if that had been their qualification for mission, but because he is going on to tell how one of them, Agabus, prophesied famine—a prediction which led to the creation of an important precedent, whose importance his later narrative will abundantly show.

It is this representative group which supplies the agency for the separation of Barnabas and Saul.[1] Luke now describes them as " prophets and teachers "—he has no technical title by which to name them in their immediate function: they are not apostles (up to this point in Acts " the apostles " mean strictly the Twelve); and they are not "the presbyters of the Church which was in Antioch"; they are a delegation from the Church in Jerusalem, the Mother Church and source of mission. It is stated that they are prophets, because as prophets they offer to the Spirit a channel by which the call to separate Barnabas and Saul may come; and as apostolic delegates they obey the call, and consecrate and send forth their brethren. But the circumstances do not imply that any group of prophets might have acted to the same effect.

2. In Acts xv. 32, we are informed that Judas and Silas, also of Jerusalem, who carried the decrees of the council to Antioch, were prophets; but that is stated not in connection with their mission, or with

[1] Chap. xiii. 1–3.

their selection for it, but with the fact that they exhorted and confirmed the brethren there.[1]

3. The third point in St. Luke's narrative at which we meet prophets is in the course of that journey of St. Paul to Jerusalem, which resulted in his arrest there.[2] The story here moves throughout in an atmosphere of the prophetic, dense with foreboding which compels us to realise (as the writer intends) the Apostle's devotion and disregard of obstacles. In every city, we are told, the Spirit witnessed of what awaited Paul at Jerusalem. At Tyre they found disciples who say "in the Spirit" that Paul ought not to go thither. At Caesarea they meet the four daughters of Philip who prophesy; and they encounter again Agabus, who with the girdle enacts for Paul's warning his arrest and fettering.

So far as the statements of Acts inform us, we would gather, I think, (1) that (even if we do not take Paul's "in every city" literally) prophecy was frequent, and one might meet with it anywhere in the Church; (2) that persons distinctively known as prophets are not frequent; (3) that Jerusalem, the scene of the event of Pentecost, was the centre of the activity of prophets: the Antioch prophets came from Jerusalem; so did Judas and Silas; Agabus came from Judaea to Caesarea (and had not far to come); Philip, whose daughters prophesied, is one of the first Jerusalem group; (4) that the Book

[1] Καὶ αὐτοὶ προφῆται ὄντες; it is a coincidence that they were prophets, not a reason.

[2] Chaps. xx., xxi.

of Acts refers to no other "prophets"—of other prophecy it is said that "the Spirit witnessed," or that there were disciples who spoke in the Spirit; (5) that nothing which is told us as to prophets suggests peripateticism—the only journeys of prophets to which there is allusion are missions from Jerusalem to Antioch, of which two are mentioned, and the short excursion of Agabus from Jerusalem to Caesarea to meet Paul; (6) that prophecy was not imperative; there is no hint for prophets of a function of government or of a right to command: the intimation to the prophets at Antioch as to the separation of Barnabas and Saul is an intimation from God to themselves, not through them to others; Agabus does not direct the collection of relief—he predicts the scarcity, and the brethren resolve to collect: the prophecies which Paul meets in every city, and at Tyre and at Caesarea, foretell what will happen to Paul, but do not direct what Paul is to do, and Paul acts in the teeth of their apparent inference. That is to say, that prophets prophesy "and the others judge"; those who hear the word of the prophet discriminate whether it is, or is not, a word of the Lord, and next they decide in what way, if at all, they shall act upon it. A prophet's business is to prophesy, not to command. He testifies to the mind and purpose of God—the question of how to give effect to that mind or to further that purpose, is the affair not of the prophet but of his hearers. As for the content of prophecy, so far as the narrative of St. Luke exhibits that content, it falls under

three heads: (1) in one case it is the designation of persons to service (the case of Barnabas and Saul), which we may parallel with that of Timothy,[1] and may believe to illustrate a frequent and important function of prophecy; (2) in another case it is the exhortation and confirmation of believers (by Judas and Silas); (3) in two cases (that of the famine and that of Paul's arrest) it is prediction of events; Agabus alone predicts with definiteness, the others who foretold harm to Paul at Jerusalem seem to have been conscious only of general presentiment; (4) there is nothing at all to suggest that prophets governed or dominated, or that they peregrinated with a function of oversight, or that local Churches depended upon them for special ministries or services. St. Luke's picture of the New Testament prophet has no feature in common with the charismatic of the theory of Twofold Ministry. There is no evidence from him that as prophets they shared at all in formal authority—the evidence is rather that they did not. Those who conferred at Jerusalem, who issued "dogmata" and dispatched these by their delegates to the Churches of Antioch, Syria and Cilicia, were not "apostles and prophets," but "apostles and presbyters." Though the persons selected for special missions were in the cases known to us, and probably in all cases, as was natural, men markedly qualified by the prophetic gift, these acted, not as prophets, but as apostolic commissioners. The general position is adequately illustrated by the

[1] 1 Tim. i. 18.

instance of Judas and Silas, who went to Antioch as delegates of the council to deliver and expound the decrees committed to their charge; but who, being in their personal capacity "prophets as well," used their personal gift to exhort and confirm the brethren there.

References to prophets and prophecy in St. Paul's Epistles are perhaps less numerous than one might suppose. While they are copious, they occur mainly in one or other of two connections: (1) in a practical connection in his First Epistle to the Corinthians; (2) in a theological connection in his Epistle to the Ephesians.

In the first of these cases, St. Paul endeavours to regulate Church life at Corinth in a crisis of spiritual excitement. Circumstances there do not seem to have been normal, but were comparable to those which in modern experience are occasionally associated with seasons of active "revival"[1]; and this lessens the value of any deduction which can be drawn from his discussion of the phenomena. The incidents of such a crisis, including as they may do, exaltations, paroxysms, ecstasies, uncontrollable voices, are anywhere difficult to explain, difficult to regulate, and are scarcely illustrative of the ordinary conditions of Christian fellowship. St. Paul's treatment of the Corinthian incidents

[1] "Probably research would show that no 'revival' has been without something like glossolalia" (Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 245). The same thing might probably be said of trance, etc.

cannot be taken as helping us far to an understanding of the part which prophecy ordinarily played in times and at places where Church life, having attained to fuller development, was flowing in its wonted channel; his remarks and directions and remonstrances are instructive mainly as enabling us to estimate the Apostolic attitude of mind as to what he classes as πνευματικὰ or χαρίσματα.[1] Among these St. Paul attaches high relative value to prophecy; but the prophecy which he discusses is not that of an order of prophets or of the exceptional individual—it appears as an impulse diffused among the membership of the flock. Any one may prophesy, even every one: and all should covet to prophesy.[2] Its value depends upon rationality and

[1] Χάρισμα in the New Testament is almost peculiar to St. Paul, the only other writer to employ it being St. Peter (1 Pet. iv. 10, in connection with hospitality, speaking, ministering). With Paul it has the sense of "free gift of God," and is applied (1) to the gift of redemption in Christ (Rom. v. 15, 16; vi. 23; xi. 29); (2) to providential deliverance from distress (2 Cor. i. 11); (3) to the gifts of the Holy Spirit. It is improbable that in this last application the word has become in St. Paul's mind merely technical—χάρισμα remains for him actively expressive of the fact that *all* which evidences the life of Christ in the Christian is of supernatural grace. Our works are wrought in us, not by us. Faith, wisdom, helpfulness, love are thus χαρίσματα equally with tongues or miracles. The more valuable charisma is not that which is most of a marvel, but that which is most practically serviceable. The use of πνευματικὰ as equivalent to χαρίσματα is peculiar to Paul—if there is any difference in their shades of meaning, it may be that πνευματικὰ are χαρίσματα in the more restricted sense (1 Cor. xiv. 1).

[2] *Ibid.*

fidelity to the faith and to conscience. It is "spoken with the understanding," with conscious self-control; and its object is to edify. The emphasis of Paul's thought throughout these discussions is upon "prophesyings," not upon "prophets"; that is, upon the matter of prophecy, and not upon the person who is its channel of delivery. In this St. Paul's treatment agrees with that of his more casual references to the subject—these are references to prophecy, not to prophets: in 1 Thess. v. 20, "Despise not prophesyings": in Rom. xii. 6, where prophecy seems to be regarded simply as a *χάρισμα* depending upon *χάρις*—an evidence of grace, in the same sense that the power of teaching or of service or the readiness to be liberal may be tokens of grace, all Christians having capacity for all these graces, but some fuller capacity than others; and again in 1 Tim. i. 18, and iv. 14: the authority which indicated Timothy for his place in the Church was the authority of prophecy, not of prophets.

There is further the more important group of passages in which St. Paul names together apostles and prophets.[1] It is upon these passages that the theory of Twofold Ministry really obtains a claim to consideration, for which otherwise there would be comparatively slight ground. They undoubtedly serve to show that in Paul's mind prophecy was a fact of vast significance, and that the prophet—the

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 28; Ephes. ii. 20; iii. 5; iv. 11.

person, that is, through whom in practice prophecy exercised its function in the Church—was a person essential to the development of the Divine purpose in Christ Jesus.

That development depended on two factors: it depended upon the one hand on the mission from God which carried to the world grace and truth; on the other hand it depended no less upon the existence in humanity of the power to respond—power to know truth and to receive grace, and thereby to enter into fellowship with those sent in the Name of the Lord—power, therefore, to assimilate, to illustrate, and to interpret the proclamation of the Divine Gospel. Apostleship represents one of these two factors, prophecy the other. In order that the Church may come into being, both are requisite [1]—the Church is founded upon apostles and prophets.

There must be apostleship—the active aggressive representation of Christ who comes to us bringing life and light, moulding the new creation to the pattern which is in the Heavens. But the labours of apostleship would be futile unless those who are evangelised could respond to the evangel and those who are thereby added to the Lord become one Spirit

[1] As soon as our Lord discovered this power of response in one human soul (St. Matt. xvi. 16), He hailed the success of His tremendous experiment—on that rock He would build His Church. He recognised also the supernatural grace evidenced in the power to respond: "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in Heaven."

with the Lord, attaining harmony with the mind of God and capable of witnessing to its content. The apostles minister the prophetic spirit—the prophetic spirit in their converts is the measure of the value of the apostolic labours. Apostles pass on their way—the prophetic power remains in the souls into which has been infused the new life; and by this power of prophecy (in its proper sense of insight into the Divine thought and will) the Gospel is worked out in practice to all its blessed inference.

The Church, then, is founded on two things—the Divine Mission of apostles and the Divine Life created in believers by contact with that Mission and what it bears. The supernatural life communicated to the disciple is the correlative of the supernatural origin of the mission which results in his discipleship: the Church is what it is not by the operation of one of these, but in virtue of them both—it is vitally Christ's Body and not merely a numerical discipleship, because in the case of this propaganda, the disciple is more than a disciple—he is a man reborn; and the convert is more than a convert—he is a new creation. That is to say, that the mission of the Paracelete is complementary to the mission of the Son. Everywhere around apostles and in their track there rises up a fellowship instinct with the same ideas and faculties which inspire apostles, having the same consciousness of understanding God and of knowing the truth and of willing the good, and with

the same impelling necessity of testifying to what in Christ is known, and of communicating what in Christ is received. These two things, the mission and the response, apostleship and prophecy, give us the Church. In the actual work of its upbuilding St. Paul recognises these two agencies—the one represented by labourers like himself and his companions (it is very possible that in these passages St. Paul uses the word apostle in its widest sense)—the other represented by the prophetic soul which has not only caught from them the Divine fire, but also propagates its impulse. Everywhere there is found the Christian who is more Christian than others, in whom the Christian type is realised, the man who burns, who speaks, who testifies, the man who not only receives but becomes a giver of what he has received. St. Paul knows his debt to that man and the Church's debt. St. Paul would, I think, be foremost to assert that such a man is no more than all should be, that he is only representative of the faith of all and that all are partakers of the same grace as he; nevertheless in him, the man of fire and light and utterance, Paul finds the typical disciple—among the prophetic people he is distinctively the prophet; and upon the presence of such men with and round the apostolic element the Church depends for being what it is and for growth to what it shall be.

St. Paul is a rhetorical writer and prefers to express himself by means of the concrete example—it is natural to him to speak of "apostles and

prophets" rather than of apostleship and prophecy.[1] What he has in mind is the spiritual principle of Divine action—that God works on the one hand by mission to humanity, on the other by the exaltation and renewal of human nature under contact with mission. He expresses this graphically when he says that the Church is founded upon apostles and prophets.

We may think ourselves to be compelled to understand him in this way by the difficulty of in any other way finding facts which correspond to the statement. While there are indications of prophecy and of prophets elsewhere than in St. Paul, these indications are comparatively few and obscure—there is really nothing elsewhere to suggest an order of prophets who play a part in the Church's genesis comparable to that ascribed to apostles, so that they and apostles should be thus bracketed together. The Book of Acts does not suggest it; the incident of the mission of Barnabas and Saul from Antioch is the solitary instance in that Book of the collocation of the ideas of apostleship and prophecy, and in that case the part played by prophets is purely instrumental: apart from the group of passages under consideration, St. Paul's own writings do not suggest it; the extra-canonical writers of the first period certainly do not suggest

[1] Compare *ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεύς; ποῦ συζητητὴς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* (1 Cor. i. 20); it is St. Paul's way of referring to philosophy, scholasticism and sophistry as inadequate to deal with the things of the Spirit.

it.[1] St. Paul's language, if he is to be understood as he is sometimes understood, would lead us to look for prophets as everywhere the coadjutors of apostles, or at least as the second line of the apostolic advance, as after and around apostles the notables of the Church, succeeding to their prominence and growing in importance as apostles became fewer or as they scattered to further regions. As a matter of fact there is not a single example of this, unless the unique incident at Antioch, the mission of Barnabas and Saul, be an example; and it occurs at the beginning, whereas it is in later narrative that we should find our examples increasingly abundant. Are we, then, to suppose a general agreement to ignore prophets and their activity? If so, Paul is himself accessory to it; for while in his theoretical view of the Church as stated in the passages under consideration he appears to magnify prophets, he is habitually silent of them in his concrete dealing with Churches and with men. He speaks occasionally of *prophecy*, noticing it incidentally as at Rome and at Thessalonica, and having perforce to give it considerable attention as at Corinth; but he supplies us with no actual instance in which prophets as a class or any particular prophet appear as fundamental to the work

[1] Hermas is no exception, for though he recognises prophets as having a distinct place in the structure of his mystical tower, he does not set them "at the foundation" or in juxtaposition with the stones which are of "the first age"; and his description of the true prophet is simply that of a man who has the Spirit of God and who comes into the assembly.

of upbuilding the Church or even as co-operative in that work with apostleship. The inference may be, one concludes, that in those passages where he seems to attribute so much to prophets, Paul is writing mystically; he writes there, not to describe organisation, but to expound the operation of principles; the apostle, the prophet, the teacher, are in his mind symbols of spiritual forces which are at work to advance the Christian movement—on the one hand, *Christ is preached*—on the other hand, *the preaching is not in vain*. The fact of prophecy—the illumination and exaltation of human nature through reception of the Holy Ghost, so that becoming spiritual man can discern spiritual things—is one of the fundamental bases of the Church's life and growth; apostleship, the impact of Christ's Mission which apostles continue, is the other.

The collocation in this aspect of apostles and prophets is repeated a few sentences later,[1] and imports nothing fresh in addition to what is implied in the passage just discussed. The Divine " secret " (the Catholicity of the Church) is not only a revelation communicated, but is also a revelation understood: the discipleship apprehends it, the rising consciousness of the Church hails it. It is a revelation *ἐν Πνεύματι*, given in the gift of the Spirit, and therefore the common conviction of those who are taught of the Spirit; prophet answers apostle in grasping and proclaiming the purpose which

[1] Ephes. iii. 5.

God is now unveiling. The knowledge of the cosmic significance of the Christ did not come as an oracle communicated to the few and on their authority delivered to the generality of the Church; it came "in the Spirit," as a thought with which the current of the Spirit, flowing from Christ through Christ's Body, was charged. Apostles might be the first to be sensitive to the message (if Paul had been writing prosaically he might have spoken, not of revelation to "apostles," but of his own earliest apprehension of the intimation, and perhaps of his labours to communicate it to fellow apostles); those of the flock who stood highest on the slopes might be the next to catch the gleam of its dawn to which apostles pointed, and to herald it to the less quick of spiritual sense: it is thus that revelation spreads, apostle and prophet working together effectually each in the measure of his part, to make the whole fellowship conscious of God's meaning. Because all are prophets, all who are in Christ can share in the apprehension. Faith is always revelation.

The exegesis applied to the passages already quoted (Ephes. ii. 20, iii. 5) will largely determine that of the so-called "lists" of 1 Cor. xii. 28, and Ephes. iv. 11. To speak of these as lists of a hierarchy, or to treat them as formal catalogues of ministries, is misleading. Nothing could be less in St. Paul's manner than a formal catalogue of anything, and the last catalogue to be expected from him would be a catalogue of ecclesiastical organisation—he thinks in terms of spiritual truth, and that

fact need not be obscured for us by his rhetorical habit of referring to spiritual truths by their concrete forms—as that, for example, he should speak of the " prophet," when he is thinking of prophecy. A characteristic feature of his style is that he loves to pile up what we may call lists, but which are rather accumulations of example, loosely linked together by some thought which they illustrate. Thus in 1 Cor. iii. 22 he groups together terms so incongruous as *himself, Cephas, the world, life, death, the present, the future*—the link being that all these belong to the Corinthians. So in Rom. viii. 33, he has *life, death, angels, governments, miracles, things that are, things that shall be, height, depth, or any other creature*—the linking idea now being that none of these can divide from God's love. A more closely cognate series is that of charismata in Rom. xii. 6–8; if it is a list, the list would be *prophecy, service, teaching, exhortation, giving, presiding, compassionating ;* but evidently it is not a list, but a series of instances, rapidly supplied.[1]

The series given in 1 Cor. xii. 28 ff. is certainly more carefully arranged than this; it is not merely rhetorical, but is partly argumentative. The general thesis of the passage is stated in ver. 7: that the manifestations of the Spirit (as all spiritual gifts are) exist with a view to profitableness. This is followed by an enumeration of instances, partly to

[1] Other indications of this habit occur, Rom. i. 29–31; 1 Cor. v. 11; vi. 9–10; 2 Cor. iv. 6–10; xi. 26–7; Gal. v. 19–23; Phil. iv. 8; Colos. iii. 5–8.

suggest the variety of gift, but at the same time to suggest that the more useful gift is the more worthy; and next to suggest that the more useful (and therefore the worthier) are not the more remarkable, as healings or tongues, but are the commonplace graces, wisdom, understanding, faith and (as appears in the climax of the section[1]) love. At first sight these appear simply as a parcelling out of gift; but they are integrated in the unity of the Church, considered as a Body of which the individual is an organic part; and this integration represents Divine purpose in the allocation. Then follows the "list"—it is in reality an enumeration in Paul's familiar manner—of *πνευματικὰ* considered *πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον*: on the ground of usefulness to others. The highest usefulness is that of the apostle, then that of the prophet, and next that of the teacher; and then, but only in a way secondary to these, those gifts which seem more marvellous, the power of working miracle or the power of healing. Such seems to be the leading thought of the passage. St. Paul's habit of disorder in his enumerations appears in the next particulars, *ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις*, which are not of the marvellous type; but he returns to the marvellous in his closing example, *γένη γλωσσῶν*, which in accordance with his general proposition he places, as least useful, last of all.

In this enumeration it is possible to see the statement of a hierarchy only by confining atten-

[1] 1 Cor. xiii.

tion to its first three items. As soon as we read beyond "teachers," we find ourselves among activities which refuse to fall into place in a hierarchy. The change in the form of enumeration from *πρῶτον, δεύτερον, τρίτον* to *ἔπειτα, ἔιτα* is important—it marks Paul's point that the useful gifts are the pre-eminent; but it does not so thoroughly break up the series and divide its earlier numbers from the remainder as to change their category, so that in the first group we should have a hierarchy and in the second group a miscellany of nondescript activities. If there is here any hierarchy it is one which includes all that is mentioned, and we should have peripatetic miracle workers, oecumenical healers and authoritative speakers with tongues. What St. Paul really contends is that there is a Divine scale of value in gift, and that it is not the scale of prodigiosity, but of serviceableness; he is not comparing grades of "ministry," but spiritual values; he is not regulating ecclesiastical precedence—he is inculcating the true principle of Christian ambition, "covet earnestly the best gifts."

It is worth noting as significant that while at Corinth there was so abundant prophecy, there was evidently no "prophet" there competent to solve questions, or of sufficient authority to decide in uncertainties of practice, some of which, such as the veiling of women, seem scarcely to have needed the intervention of an apostle, and yet were forwarded to Paul for determination.

Much of what has been said applies to the other "list," that of Ephes. iv. 11. We have here again an enumeration, not of the ranks of a ministry, but of gifts bestowed upon the Church. The question now, however, is not of the gifts and their comparative values, but of their source. The statement is not that the following are to be regarded as gifts of the Lord in the order in which they are named: the statement is that all the forces which are at work for the equipment of the holy society, issue from the Ascended Christ and are for the upbuilding of the society as His Body. The whole emphasis is upon the word *αὐτός*—*ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ αναβὰς . . . . καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε*; He who came down to us, He who is gone up to God, *He* is the Giver of apostles, prophets, pastors and teachers. Paul's subject is not ministries, but Christ: it is almost grotesque to treat his eloquence as a patent of dignities.

That neither this "list" nor that of 1 Cor. xii. 28 is a list of ministries as such appears from the fact that they are different. Had the writer been describing organisation, the description must have been in each case approximately the same. They differ because they are not lists, but are illustrative series, occurring in different connections and regarding Divine gift from different points of view. To the Corinthians Paul has to say that capacities for service which are found in the Church are, in all cases and whatever their form, from God by His Holy Spirit, and are to be received and

employed in furtherance of God's method in the Church: that method being to give, not all graces equally to all, but to develop different graces unequally in each, so that each shall be necessary to the full equipment of the whole. To the Ephesians he has to say that the Ascended Christ is the radiant source of supernatural energy and endowment: the gifts are not an upheaval from within a Spirit-filled Body—they are directly bestowed by Christ in His Own Person through the action of the Spirit whom Christ mediates to the Church. The enumeration of gifts in the Corinthians passage is long and complex, because the forms of usefulness which the Spirit may evoke from regenerate humanity are numerous and of varying value. That in the Ephesians passage is short and simple because the lines along which Christ pursues His purpose in the Church are simple, and because it is on Christ rather than on the Spirit that Paul's thought now centres: for the broad statement of Christ's method of giving to the Church he finds four terms sufficient, namely apostleship, prophecy, evangelism and the pastorate with its function of teaching as well as of shepherding.

In any case it is obvious that this Ephesians passage does not give a charismatic hierarchy [1] whose characteristics distinguish it from a regular or local ministry, since it includes under one category prophecy which is certainly charismatic and pastor-

[1] Turner, *Camb. Med. Hist.*, I., p. 144; *Studies in Early Ch. Hist.*, pp. 13, 30.

ate which was certainly local. The common feature which includes these is that both are gifts of the Ascended Lord and both contribute to His end, which is the edification and perfecting of the Church. If the list be read as one of spiritual provision towards this end, the regular ministry may quite well be content with the place assigned to it, though that be the last place. Prophecy and evangelism as spiritual forces rank higher and are more fundamental to the Church's nature and existence than pastorate is. The need of pastorate depends upon the previous energy of evangelism, and the possibility of its exercise presupposes prophetic intelligence in the flock; while the whole depends upon Christ's primary mission of His Holy Apostles,[1] without which there had been neither prophet nor evangelist nor pastor nor teacher nor taught. To understand St. Paul in these passages, it is needful to perceive that his mind is moving among conceptions of this magnitude—he is not arranging office-bearers in a hierarchy.

In the pastoral Epistles there is no allusion to prophecy or prophet or charisma except in relation to Timothy's ministry; the Epistle to Titus being silent on the subject. There had been, it appears, prophecies indicating Timothy's vocation, of such a nature as to encourage Paul to entrust to him charge.[2] Timothy possessed charisma which had

[1] The "apostles" must be probably understood here as in the restricted sense, since they are distinguished from evangelists.

[2] 1 Tim. i. 18.

become his "by means of prophecy along with imposition of hands"—those of the presbyterate [1] and of Paul himself [2]; the meaning probably is that Timothy was indicated by the voice of prophecy for ordination and perhaps for special mission—it is in connection with special mission that Paul refers to the matter. Paul, then, has not forgotten, while he writes, that prophecy exists: his mind is alive to its function. Yet he has nothing to say to Timothy of reliance upon its guidance or assistance, even in that matter of the selection of ordinands.[3] He has no direction for him how he is to deal with prophets and their possible intervention, though few questions might be more difficult for a youthful and timid pastor. Paul carefully traverses the field of Church life and order, and is particular to instruct his delegate how to regulate relations to so comparatively unimportant functionaries as "widows": it is extremely difficult, in face of his silence as to prophets to suppose that these were present at Ephesus in any obtrusive importance, still more difficult to believe that they were dominant next to apostles, and, if not of despotic, at least of very great authority. Yet the Ephesian Church, if any, had Paul's own warrant for holding prophets in high estimation, and at Ephesus, if anywhere, we might expect to find them in prominence. Ephesus had apparently not understood St. Paul

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 14. [2] 2 Tim. i. 6.

[3] 1 Tim. v. 22; if the laying on of hands is to be so taken here—it may have wider reference.

in his Epistle to it to be prescribing for the Church its hierarchy.[1]

Prophets are alluded to in the Epistle to the Hebrews [2] and in those of St. Peter, St. James and St. Jude; but they are in all cases the prophets of the Old Testament.

[1] I assume that the Pastoral Epistles are authentic. But it makes little difference to the argument if they are not. They are then evidence for a later date for which, perhaps, we need evidence still more than for the latter years of Paul's lifetime.

[2] It is impossible to discover a charismatic ministry under so inevitable and neutral an expression as ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, Heb. xiii. 7 (Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, pp. 69–72). The "Word of God," or "of the Lord," or "of life," or simply "the Word" is the commonest of synonyms for the Gospel. It occurs more than thirty times in the Acts alone, and is associated with many verbs—to speak it, to hold it forth, to send it, to receive it, to glorify it, to disobey it, and so on. Among these verbs forms of λαλεῖν occur in the Acts nine times in the ordinary narrative of the apostolic preaching, and the word occurs once in St. Paul's Epistles (Phil. i. 14, ἀφόβως τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν) and once in Hebrews, *loc. cit.* There is nothing anywhere to bear out that it is a technical expression denoting the function of a charismatic class. It occurs in *Didache* IV. 1: "My son, night and day shalt thou remember him that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord," and it is this occurrence which must have suggested that it is a technical formula of allusion to the ministry of charismatics; for the solitary use of it in Heb. xiii. 7 could not have conveyed that idea, and there is nothing else at all which could. But in *Didache* IV. 1 it is in all probability a survival from the primitive Hebraic manual, the *Tract of the Two Ways*, and was originally applied to the Rabbi of that manual and has nothing to do with Christian charismatics. That the ordinary ministry was a ministry which also "spoke the word of the Lord" appears often enough, Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 2; 1 Tim. iii. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25; Tit. i. 9.

In 1 St. John charisma appears only as an unction diffused upon the Church and shared by the whole flock, which gives to the whole Body a prophetic character.[1] His only allusion to prophecy is a warning against "false prophets"[2]; these are certainly Docetic teachers, and this use of the word by St. John is highly significant in view of his allusions to "prophets" in the Apocalypse. St. John, too, like St. Paul, can write mystically, and prefers, especially when he must censure, a symbolic to a direct expression. He "names no names"; he does not say in so many words, "Beware of those heretics, the Docetists," and probably at that date no specific name for their heresy existed; he says instead that many false prophets were gone out into the world; that every spirit is not to be believed, and that spirits must be tried by their testimony. It is not necessary to understand him literally or to suppose that he had in view cases of trance or forced utterance in which the inspiring spirit was demoniacal and not the Holy Spirit.[3] In the circumstances, which after all are extremely common, we should now probably express the same meaning by saying that the "spiritual-mindedness" of a writer or teacher is no guarantee of his orthodoxy.

In the Apocalypse prophets appear repeatedly,[4]

[1] Chap. ii. 20, 27. [2] Chap. iv. 1.

[3] See Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 206–7.

[4] Chap. x. 7; xi. 10, 18; xvi. 6; xviii. 20, 24; xxii. 6, 9; προφητεία is twice applied to the Apocalypse itself, i. 3; xxii. 7; to the witness of the two witnesses, xi. 6; and to the spirit of prophecy generally, xix. 10.

and they appear in the collocation of "apostles and prophets," [1] and especially of "saints and prophets" [2]—a phrase in which St. John seems in this writing to sum up the constituent elements of the Church. A good deal has been made of this [3]; here, it may be said, are in fact the clergy and laity of the time as St. John knew them: "the saints" is his common expression for the Christian flock as a whole—their ministers are the prophets—if they had any other ministry it was not of sufficient prominence to attract attention.

Apocalypse, however, is not history and still less is it a digest of Church styles. Apocalypse has a vocabulary of its own, and its vocabulary is symbolic and poetic. It avoids the pedestrian, and prefers terms which suggest spiritual ideas and which in some measure appeal to the imagination. Bishops and deacons are, after all, prosaic persons and, under these names, would fit awkwardly into St. John's heavenly vision. He introduces, indeed, the presbyter—not, however, as in plain fact we know that respectable person, but as representative of the economies and enthroned with Christ; if presbyter and prophet are to be understood literally, the regular ministry [4] has every reason to be satisfied

[1] Chap. xviii. 20. [2] Chap. xi. 18; xvi. 6; xviii. 24.

[3] See Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, Intr., pp. xvi–xvii; Turner, *Studies*, p. 15 *n.* But St. Paul has an exactly corresponding summary, though couched in the language of prose: it is "The saints . . . with the bishops and deacons," Phil. i. 1.

[4] Professor Swete observes that "local Church officials" have no place in the Apocalypse. It must be admitted that under that description they have not.

with the relative position thus assigned to it. It is, however, apocalypse which St. John here writes. When he speaks of Christians generally he does not call them as in his epistle the "Brethren," but the "Saints"; it is natural that when he speaks of their chiefs and great men he should refer to these not by commonplace titles of office, but allusively and with such figurative veil of language as his literary form requires. One does not suppose that St. John descends to the language of bare fact only when he uses the word prophet. He is describing the spiritual contest of spiritual principles and forces; we scarcely expect him to talk of clergy and laity, as Clement in his sober Epistle does, or to say in so many words that in times of persecution bishops were likely to be first victims. "Prophets," or in xviii. 20, "apostles and prophets" (an association which may be dependent on Ephes. ii. 20), are, one may conjecture, the apocalyptic symbol in St. John's vocabulary for the idea of ministry in general — they are "Christ's own bond-servants"[1]; they are His witnesses[2]; and they are St. John's brethren.[3] The fact that St. John does in this book use the term "prophets" correlatively with "saints" to embrace the whole membership of the Church, and therefore presumably as synonymous with ministry, would itself go so far to show that such was not the usage of ordinary speech; for apocalyptic is necessarily transcendental in its language, not literal, and avoids the factual commonplace.

[1] Chap. x. 7. [2] Chap. xi. 3. [3] Chap. xxii. 9.

LECTURE V

THE PROPHET IN THE CHURCH

PASSING now from the canonical sources to extra-canonical—the Epistle of Barnabas contains no reference to charismata or to charismatic persons which can be identified as such.[1] The prophets of whom Barnabas speaks are those of the Old Testament. In his view it is the flock generally into which the Spirit has been infused [2] and which is to become spiritual, God's pure Temple.[3] Nothing is to be inferred from this silence; the subject of the Epistle does not call for allusion to Ministry.

The subject of St. Clement's (so-called First) Epistle to the Corinthians, however, does; its purpose is to deal with the treatment of the presbyters of Corinth by the Church there. This gives the writer occasion to touch most of the points as to ministry which are relevant to modern discussion, its components, its evolution, its functions. He knows apostles, bishops, presbyters, deacons and

[1] Barnabas (c. i. 8) repudiates the claim to be accounted a teacher—*οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος*. Nothing imports that he is using the word as a title of ministry—it is the ordinary deprecation of any exordium. Conf. 1 Pet. v. 1; Ignat., *Ad Ephes.*, iii. 1; *Ad Rom.* iv. 7, etc. Common words cannot be assumed as technical on every occasion of their appearance, even though they are capable of a technical sense.

[2] c. i. 3. [3] c. iv. 18.

he knows of "distinguished men," [1] who after the apostles chose presbyters with the consent of the whole Church. To go into the questions of succession which lie round these allusions and statements would be aside from the present subject. What is relevant is that Clement's Epistle contains no word which implies as such the charismatic person in any form. His apostles are the Twelve (including Paul; c. v. 3); Apollos is carefully distingushed as "another" from the apostles (c. xlvii. 4). The only prophets of whom he speaks are those of the Old Testament. Yet his subject and his treatment of it positively require that if a dominating or any authoritative charismatic influence—not to say a recognised charismatic ministry—had been known to him or had been conceived of by him to exist in or round the Christian system with which he deals, he should have referred to it and should have invoked it. The controversy was evidently one in which prophets might well be interested, one in which—even if we think of them as no more than valued counsellors to the Church—appeal to them would be apparently inevitable. One can hardly

[1] c. xliv. 3, ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν. Gore is probably right when he identifies these as apostolic delegates of the type of Timothy or Titus (*Orders and Unity*, p. 104). There is nothing to hint, however, that as the same writer (*Church and Ministry*, p. 293) thinks, their distinction was charismatic, in the sense that they are a class similar to the prophets and teachers of the *Didache*. Ἔλλογίμος occurs again, c. lvii. 2 and c. lviii. 2, in the simple sense of "reckoned among the elect," and in the superlative, c. lxii. 3. It is not, then, a word of very pregnant sense in Clement's use of it.

doubt that both at Rome and at Corinth prophecy existed; but if so its function was not such as to suggest to Clement's mind that in the testimony of prophecy he might find confirmation of his pleading. As a factor in organised Church life prophecy does not come within Clement's horizon, wide as that is—the prophet is not in his picture.[1] As for the theory that "prophets" at Corinth were themselves the leaders of the disorder, the thing is more than possible; but in that case Clement's refusal to name them is entirely inconsistent with the supposition that they occupied a recognised and authoritative ministry. Had they done so, Clement's plea for orderly procedure and his respect as a Roman for lawful authority would have compelled him at least to deal explicitly with their position and with the question of their right as against the right of "local ministry."[2] It is once more a case in which the argument from silence is almost conclusive.

Ignatius again is witness for a very wide region. He is Bishop of Antioch, the chief city of Syria and Mother Church of Gentile Christianity, next to

[1] The only possible reference to charismatic persons as such would, I think, be c. xlviii. 5: ἤτω τις πιστός, ἤτω δυνατὸς γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν, ἤτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, and that is doubtful enough, for the passage goes on: ἤτω γοργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, ἤτω ἁγνός: "Let him be energetic, let him be pure."

[2] Mr. Turner's remark (*Camb. Med. Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 144) that the treatment of presbyters at Corinth shows that local ministries, since such treatment of them was possible, were still held in light esteem in comparison with peripatetics, scarcely takes sufficient account of what "local ministries" may have to endure, even where they have more than half a century of history behind them.

Jerusalem itself the most ancient of Churches and depository of the most authentic tradition. His letters trace him through Asia Minor and reach before him to Rome. He writes in the interest of the preservation of the unity and orthodoxy of the Church under its ministry of bishops, presbyters and deacons. He has constantly to treat of Church organisation and of the place and function of their several ministries; incidentally he has occasion to speak of elements which are hostile to unity or which interfere with the orderliness of the Church's life. Of such elements it is evident that from this point of view prophecy, and still more the presence of a rival charismatic ministry, might have been one. His style is vivid, concrete and detailed; he makes us intimately acquainted with the Church life which has confronted him at centre after centre as he passed upon his route to Troas. He is aware of prophecy and he speaks of it casually, not as of a thing in any way remarkable; he tells us how at Philadelphia he himself prophesied. He records the utterance and it does not seem to be markedly different from the tenor of his habitual testimony—if Ignatius spoke as he wrote these are precisely the things which we would expect him to say: "Attend to the bishop and to the presbytery and to the deacons"; "Do nothing apart from the bishop: keep your bodies as the Temple of God: love unity: flee divisions: be followers of Christ, as He was of the Father."[1] Ignatius believed himself to be inspired to say these quite unremark-

[1] *Ad Philad.* chap. vii.

able things: "The Spirit spake," he says. He believed this, because, as it proved, they were apt to the circumstances of the position at Philadelphia —so apt that some, it seems, believed that Ignatius must have had private information of the position and was talking at them, which (he protests) was not the case. The passage then is instructive; it shows us what prophecy was understood to be and what it was not—how far from being the oracle of a recognised or almost despotic authority. Ignatius prophesies, yet has no pretensions to be a prophet. His prophecy has no character of revelation; it has not that novelty of content which we are told is necessary to prophecy;[1] it is merely his habitual testimony, it is in fact his monotonous repetition; only on that occasion it was impulsive, emotional, forcible ("I cried . . . I spoke with a loud voice"); he was, as we might say, *led* to speak as he did, and his words showed a providential appropriateness to the need of the moment and the place. God then, he opines, was behind his speaking —he prophesied. In the same Epistle Ignatius twice alludes to "prophets,"[2] but the context leaves little doubt that it is the prophets of the Old Testament who are intended. That is less clear as to a third passage which occurs in the Epistle to the Church at Smyrna.[3] Ignatius is there warning against certain Docetists who departed from the common Eucharist, and is exhorting his readers to avoid them. The Smyrnaeans

[1] Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, p. 94. [2] c. v. 2; c. ix. 1.
[3] *Ad Smyrn.* vii. 2.

are not to speak with these in public or in private, "but are to hearken to the prophets and especially to the Gospel in which both Christ's passion is manifested to us and His Resurrection perfectly declared." The allusion seems to be to the reading of prophet and gospel in the Eucharistic service—we are to hear these and learn to believe in Christ's true humanity, which Docetists deny. It is not apparent that Ignatius speaks anywhere of the Christian prophet—if he does, it is as of a person to be loved and listened to, not as a person who rules, or who exerts any influence, not to say authority, worth conciliating to the cause which he writes to advocate.[1] Prophecy he does know, but the "prophet" is not in his picture of the Church any more than in Clement's. The only ministry known to him is such ministry as is known to ourselves.

This silence of Clement and of Ignatius is particularly impressive. Both are authorities of the first value. Both write copiously enough to make us feel that we know their mind over the area which their discussions cover. Both deal directly with Church organisation and ministry. Both handle concrete situations; their disclosure of the general Church position is incidental, not studied, and is perfectly ingenuous. It has been already pointed out that their evidence speaks for a very large part of the then Christian world, Rome, Achaia, Asia, Syria. The evidence is negative; it shows only

[1] If anything is discoverable in Ignatius which can refer to peripatetics, charismatic or otherwise, it would be in *Ad Ephes.* vii. 1, where he warns against certain sowers of heresy.

that these writers were unconscious of the intervention of prophets in the Church life which they knew; but such evidence is exactly that which leads most directly to a negative conclusion as to the existence of any recognised charismatic system or influence alongside of the regular ministries in which they are interested.

The evidence of Hermas must be measured by another standard. It is positive, not negative: for actual information as to prophecy in the sub-apostolic period he is the really important source. Hermas is certainly not an official "prophet"—he has no confidence in official prophets: [1] but he is a prophetic man who is conscious of his message for the Church, and he will deliver it for the Church's judgment.[2] He is a mystic and a spiritual man and, as such men commonly are, he is ill content with himself and with the Church as he finds it. He has his conception of the Church as it exists in God's purpose and ought to be in fact, and of the elements in its life which conflict with that ideal. This then is his burden, and he expresses it in allegory—he does not, one would gather, suggest himself as recording actual trance experience, but he uses a literary form. His method requires him to be historical—he must describe the Church as it has come into being under the hand of its Divine Founder—but his history is that of the mystic: like St. Paul he has to reckon the Spiritual forces which have contributed to the Church's development. He does this by describing a Tower and its building—which tower is the Church.

[1] *Mand.* xi. [2] *Vis.* ii. 4, etc.

Of this tower he gives two separate descriptions : [1] the first as it were only in sketch, showing his idea in the rough as it rises to his mind out of the superficial experience of every day. Describing the Church from this factual point of view, its fundamental courses are "Apostles and Bishops and Teachers and Deacons" : he thinks, that is, of the Church in terms of its regular organisation as he actually knows it. His second description represents a deeper reflection ; it is more elaborate, more comprehensive of the historical aspect of the subject and truer as an account of the Church's spiritual genesis. Among the Divine Agencies out of whose operation the mystical fabric has arisen, certain which have been named already in his former list must necessarily appear again in this—they are essential to any account of the matter. The Twelve, the "Apostles of the Lord," must under whatever style be set first ; and the Ministry in the proper sense of the term must have its place, as St. Paul assigns it in his Ephesians "list." But from the point of view which Hermas now assumes, the primary apostles and the derivative orders of ministry are not alone in the Church's story ; other factors deserve to be reckoned. He therefore counts over afresh the fundamental courses of the living masonry—this time as they are spiritually discerned. There are ten stones "placed at the foundation"—"these are the first age." There are next twenty-five "of righteous men," then thirty-

[1] *Vis.* ii.–vii. ; *Sim.* ix., xv.

five who are "prophets and servants of the Lord"; [1] and the fourth course is of forty stones who are "the apostles and teachers of the proclamation of the Lord." The first course is unquestionably the Twelve—though in order to shew that he writes mystically, Hermas deliberately avoids the historical number twelve. The second course, of righteous [2] men (Clement's *ἐλλογίμοι ἄνδρες*?), seems to represent the halo of "apostolic men" who surrounded the activity of the Apostles and leaned directly upon their authority, who were their companions, coadjutors, or delegates—a group whose limits it is so difficult to define and as to whose precise relation to apostles we are not likely to reach certainty: Hermas apparently judged them to be comparatively numerous, and expresses this by assigning to them the round number twenty-five,

[1] Harnack incomprehensibly asserts that here "Old Testament prophets are meant."[22] He gives no reason for saying so, and none is apparent: the prophets of the Old Testament would appear strangely in the third generation, or at all events as built upon the first and second generations (*γενεά*) of the Church. He proceeds to say that the New Testament prophets are never mentioned in Hermas' enumerations; that the reason of the omission is that "Hermas passed over the prophets because he reckoned himself one of them"[22]—and that, therefore, it is justifiable to supply "prophets"[22] wherever Hermas names "apostles and teachers"[22]; so that "he, too, becomes an indirect witness to the threefold group of 'apostles, prophets, teachers'"[22] (*Expansion of Christianity*, trans. Moffatt, 1904, Vol. I., pp. 425–6). This is the creation, rather than the collection, of evidence.

[2] *Ἀνδρῶν δικαίων*: may this phrase possibly be intended to allude to the fixed epithet *ὁ δίκαιος* given to James? See Hegesippus, quoted Eus., *H. E.*, ii. 23; etc. There must be a reason for *δικαίων*—it is not exactly the word one would have expected here.

as compared with the ten who represent "the true apostleship." Next to these in extending number (they are thirty-five) rank "prophets and deacons of the Lord"—one must conjecture that under this style Hermas intends to include the "regular" ministries as sharing with prophets the interpretative function. Finally "apostles and teachers" who are made the more numerous (they are forty) stand for the Church's missionary activity; they are "of the preaching of the Son of God," so that "apostle" is here used in Paul's "lower" sense, the etymological sense, of a type of worker in whose work evangelism and instruction necessarily go together.[1] The whole passage is probably reminiscent of 1 Cor. xii. 28, but also expresses original thought—the relative importance ascribed to the agencies enumerated and the order in which they are placed is different from St. Paul's. Nor does Hermas more than Paul describe a hierarchy—he states ministrations of the Spirit which have underlain the process of the Church's growth. He speaks of the past—"these" he says, "have died in righteousness"; the period which he idealises is over. For his description of prophecy in his own time we must look elsewhere. In his *Commands* Hermas depicts "prophets" true and false, as in the flesh he knows them. The true prophet is, it seems, simply the Christian man among his fellows in worship, if the Spirit of God should have anything to say by his means and he should say it.

[1] Hermas again groups together "apostle" and "teacher." *Sim.* ix. 16; and in ix. 25, speaks of "apostles," some of whom were "teachers." In both passages these are connected with evangelisation.

The empty prophet is the professional, the diviner, the mystery-man, who in the assembly of prayer is silent, but sits apart and is open to consultation in private and for a consideration answers questions.

Hermas does not seem to expect much from even the true prophecy of his day—he rather apologises for it: hailstones, he says, are very small, but being many they make themselves felt; and little drops falling to the earth may wear hollows in stones. "The least things that come from above . . . have great force; . . . understand the power which cometh from above in this similitude." The least things—such in Hermas' view seem to be the prophecies of which he has experience.

Limitations of space will not permit to follow out this examination in further detail. Polycarp's Epistle, it may, however, be noticed, does not touch our subject. Polycarp himself is called "a prophetic teacher," [1] and is said before his martyrdom to have seen a vision of his pillow in flames and thereupon to have "said prophetically" that he should die by fire.[2] One notices that to call him "a prophet" is avoided; to prophesy was the incident of his last consecrated hours—it was not apparently the characteristic of his ministry—there is really no ground for describing him as "a prophet who had become a bishop." [3] We have seen that Ignatius' prophesying was of the same incidental character. To prophesy seems to have been natural, and perhaps frequent, where such men as Ignatius or

[1] *Mart. Pol.* xvi. 2. [2] *Ibid.* v. 2.
[3] Gore, *Church and Ministry*, p. 257.

Polycarp were concerned; the person whom we do not easily discover is the person who is distinctively "a prophet," who is listened to, not on the merits of what he has to say, but on the authority of prophetic rank. The so-called *Second Epistle of Clement*, a homily of the second century, contains no reference to any charismatic or general ministry; the admonishing influence to which the preacher desires attention (c. xvii. 5) is that of the presbyters, not of prophets.[1] The anonymous *Epistle to Diognetus*, also as is likely of the second century, has in view the prophetic gift where (c. xi. 5) the writer speaks of Christ "through whom the Church is enriched, and grace is unfolded and multiplied among the saints, granting understanding, revealing mysteries, announcing seasons"; but the prophets of his next sentence seem to be those of the Old Testament.[2]

[1] Dr. John Wordsworth (*Ministry of Grace*, p. 147), following Harnack and Hilgenfeld, speaks of the author as himself a teacher of the charismatic order. Lightfoot, however (*Apost. Fathers*, Vol. II. Part I., p. 195), has dealt with the argument for this, that he distinguishes himself from the presbyters. There is certainly no suggestion of special inspiration in the delivery of a written sermon.

[2] "Then the fear of the Law is sung, and the grace of prophets is known, and the faith of gospels is established, and the tradition of apostles is guarded, and the grace of the Church exults." The writer uses a hidden language, comprehensible to Christians but not to the uninitiate, and perhaps presents the life of the Church under liturgical forms (comp. Heb. x. 19–23). The reference might possibly be to the lections of *Law*, *Prophet*, *Epistle* and *Gospel*, in the Eucharistic Celebration, and hence, the plural, *Gospels*. If the prophets meant were of the New Testament, *prophets* would scarcely precede *gospels*. On the other hand, the order in that case should rather be "Apostles . . .

Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* feels that he ought to have something to say in mention of the prophet as well as of the apostle and evangelist, but has evident difficulty in finding anything that is usable for the purpose—he has but one of whom to speak and of him he knows only the name: "Among those that were celebrated at that time" (the age of Polycarp and Ignatius) "was Quadratus, who, report says, was renowned along with the daughters of Philip for his prophetical gifts."[1] Later he quotes a writer as mentioning this same Quadratus along with another, Ammias of Philadelphia. This writer seems himself to have the same difficulty in instancing prophets, for twice he in turn names this same pair, Quadratus and Ammias[2]—and these are the only

Gospels." In the *Muratorian Canon*, not much later than Hermas, the Gospels precede the Epistles, and this customary order may be in Hermas' mind in the passage quoted. A similarly veiled passage follows (xiii. 8–9): "Nor is Eve corrupted, but is trusted as a Virgin; and Salvation is manifested: and Apostles are filled with wisdom; and the Passover of the Lord goes forth; and choirs (or 'chosen peoples,' if κλῆροι, not χοροί, be read) are gathered and ranged in due order; and the Word who teaches the Saints rejoices." The terms are mystical—Eve is the Church; the χοροὶ or κλῆροι are ecclesiae; the Passover may be the Eucharist, but is, perhaps, rather the progress of Evangelisation; and the Apostles stand probably for ministry in general. For this writer, too, deals in great primary ideas; and apostles with him (xi. 1; xii. 5) seem to be the "apostles of the Lord," who is Himself the Word who teaches us.

[1] *H. E.* iii. 37.

[2] The anonymous anti-Montanist is comparing true prophets of the New Testament with Montanistic "prophets." In addition to those of the New Testament (Agabus, Judas, Silas, the daughters of Philip) he seems to know only these two, for he instances them twice and instances no other. Eus., *H. E.*, v. 17.

names of prophets (excepting those of the Acts and of Montanism) which have reached us. The fact is eloquent—poverty of reputation could hardly be more extreme—and possibly is enough by itself to dispose of the idea that prophets for any period exercised a dominating or controlling ministry or one on which local Churches depended. Prophecy, however, continued in the Church—Justin Martyr witnesses that even down to his own times " gifts of prophecy " shone forth in the Church.[1] So too Irenaeus as Eusebius paraphrases him: " Even down to his times instances of Divine and miraculous power were remaining in some churches "; Irenaeus seems to admit that cases in which the dead were raised belong to the past, but contends that exorcisms, the speaking with tongues, healings, supernatural knowledge of the future, visions and prophetic communications still occurred: " as also we hear that many brethren in the Church possess prophetic gifts, and speak, through the Spirit, with all kinds of tongues, and bring to light the secret things of men for their good, and declare the mysteries of God."[2] "Prophetic gifts" still existed, as we may hope that whether acknowledged under that name or not they exist now and will always exist in the Church: it is " the prophet " who is to seek—the man who is not Hermas' true prophet, one of the brethren on whom the Spirit of the Lord comes—but who is formally a prophet, and

[1] *Dial. with Trypho*, chap. lxxxii. The Holy Spirit in Justin's conception is distinctively *πνεῦμα προφητικόν*, *First Apol.* 6, 13.

[2] Eus., *H. E.*, v. 7.

in that character is a marked and authoritative person; who (as the theory of Twofold Ministry requires) directs or governs or oversees or goes from place to place, with a general habit or function for representing the Church at large: of such a person there is no trace. So far as evidence will carry us, it is that prophets prophesied, not that they ruled.

How far on this extended survey can we gather the content of New Testament prophecy?

1. It was occasionally predictive. Agabus in two cases predicted. Irenaeus speaks of knowledge of things to come as a charisma enduring to his time, and classes it with "visions and prophetic communications." Of this type too is Polycarp's vision of the fiery pillow.

2. Vision and trance occur and are sometimes to be accounted prophetic phenomena.[1] They are then usually connected with crises which call for providential direction,[2] and cannot be regarded as a normal method of prophetic inspiration or likely to be usual in Christian experience. Hermas cannot be instanced, for there is more than a probability that his visions were only literary.

3. There are subjective impressions, interpreted as Divine leadings. Of this class may be Philip's consciousness of errand to meet the Ethiopian Eunuch,[3] and those spiritual resistances through which Paul

[1] Not always: vision may come to one who is not in the Communion of the Holy Ghost.

[2] The vision of Ananias, Acts ix. 10; of Cornelius, *ibid.* x. 3; of Peter, *ibid.* x. 10 f.; of Paul, *ibid.* xvi. 9; xviii. 9.

[3] Acts viii. 26.

and his party groped their way to Troas[1]; and perhaps St. Paul's visit *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν* to Jerusalem.[2]

4. There is, as already specified, the indication of individual vocation—of which the New Testament supplies examples in the cases of Barnabas and Saul and of Timothy.[3]

5. There is Apocalypse in the technical sense. We are compelled to include this as prophetic by St. John's repeated characterisation of his own Apocalypse as "prophecy."[4]

6. Finally, there is apocalypse (*ἀποκάλυψις*) in the ordinary grammatical sense of revelation. In this sense *ἀποκάλυψις* means the granting of insight into the Divine—into the significance of events or the scope of truths; distinctively, the apprehension of the Person of our Lord. Paul was made aware of the mystery of the Body of Christ, *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν*.[5] He prays that the Ephesians might be given the "spirit of wisdom and of revelation (*ἀποκαλύψεως*) in the knowledge of God, the eyes of their understanding being enlightened," that they might know God's purpose and be able to understand and believe it.[6] In his own case[7] Paul classes *ἀποκαλύψεις* with *ὀπτασίας*, and speaks of their exceeding abundance; the "visions" including his mystical experiences of direct communication with Christ

[1] Acts xvi. 6–8. [2] Gal. ii. 2.

[3] According to Irenaeus, St. John from Ephesus went, when called to neighbouring regions, in order, among other things, to appoint to the ministry some one of those who were indicated by the Holy Ghost: Eus., *H. E.*, iii. 23. This probably may refer to indication by prophecy.

[4] Apoc. i. 3; xxii. 7, 10, 18, 19. [5] Ephes. iii. 3.

[6] Ephes. i. 17, cf. iii. 14. [7] 2 Cor. xii. 1, 7.

(vv. 2–4), and the "revelations" being the resultant acquaintance with Christ's mind. Of this class is the revelation (*ἀποκάλυψιν*) of First Corinthians,[1] which any brother might bring to the common edification—which St. Paul groups with discernment prophecy and teaching as rational and useful, in contrast with the unintelligibility and uselessness of the glossolalia.

St. Paul's own "revelations" result in that Gospel which was not after man, nor received of man, nor was taught to him "except by revelation (*δι' ἀποκαλύψεως*) of Jesus Christ": the record of it is in his preaching and writing.

Here we reach what is essential in Christian prophecy, as the spirit in us which is in us by the pouring upon the Church of the Spirit of God that we may know and speak the things of God. No man can either know God for himself or teach his brother to know God unless it is given him from above. Flesh and blood has not revealed to any one that Jesus is the Son of God; no man can say that Jesus is Lord except by the Holy Ghost. Faith is itself God's gift. Belief, as belief exists in Christian souls, is always revelation[2]; and the revelation communicated is always communicated that it may be delivered to others; the consciousness of Christ and of God in Christ then becomes the soul's burden, a fire within self, so that he who knows wearies of silence and cannot forbear. The root

[1] Chap. xiv. 26.

[2] Gal. i. 15, 16: "When it pleased God . . . to reveal His Son in me."

fact of Christian prophecy was and is that unction from the Holy One, in virtue of which we are aware that we know. The Christian prophecy of the first age, with whatever incidental manifestations of a teratic nature such as vision or prediction, was in essence that perception of God in Christ and of the truth as it is in Christ which makes wise the simple and compels whoever has it to bear Christ witness. Whoever speaks by the impulse of, or as he is taught by, the Holy Ghost "prophesies." Judas and Silas, inasmuch as they were prophets, exhorted the brethren and comforted them—so essentially commonplace was prophecy: *παρακαλεῖν, στηρίζειν*, these familiar exercises, were the *διακονίαι* to be looked for from prophets.

When Ignatius speaks in the Spirit, he merely reiterates his invariable teaching of unity and purity and fidelity to Christ. Hermas probably intends to exemplify actual prophecy, when the Lady of his vision reads to him from the Book which is in her hand "terrible words such as no man could bear." The last of these words he remembers, for they were few and of great profitableness: they are a simple testimony to God and to His purpose to fulfil promises to the elect, if they keep the commandments which with much faith they have received.[1] Those brethren who in Irenaeus' day manifested prophetic gifts and spoke with tongues, brought to light the secrets of men's hearts for their good and expounded the mysteries of God. Prophecy was not in the usual course

[1] *Vis.* i. 3.

predictive: it was not trance-speech; its note was not of the prodigious; its power did not lie in marvel: prophecy was a spiritual force—the force of insight into the thought of God and into the heart of man. He who was Christ's, when he heard it knew the voice of Christ; the stranger to Christ, when he heard it, knew himself—conscience responded to its description of his need—the secrets of his heart were made manifest to him.[1] Irenaeus as well as St. Paul observes this peculiar power of prophecy—the prophet, he says, brought to light the secret things of men for their good. God Himself, Barnabas writes, prophesies within us and opens for us the mouth; he who desires to be saved looks not to the man who speaks, but to Him who speaks by the man, "being struck with wonder, forasmuch as he never heard him speaking such words out of his mouth nor himself ever desired to hear such things."[2] In Barnabas' view it is not the prophet who is authoritative, but the prophecy: not the man, but God who speaks by the man.

It seems probable in fact that very much of what in writers of the first age is called prophecy would, if we could hear it now, present itself to us as simply the spiritual exposition of truth, keen discernment of the Divine intention, vivid discrimination between practical alternatives, or intuitional appreciation of individual values and of states of soul—manifestations of the Spirit with which, in the measure of our fitness to offer to the Holy Spirit a medium of expression, we ourselves are happily

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 25. [2] *Epistle*, xvi. 8, 9, 10.

not entirely unfamiliar: albeit that familiarity itself has dimmed our sense of their supernatural origin and heavenly character. There were no doubt other manifestations than these—predictions, tongues, perhaps trance-speech, visions, apocalyptic transport. Of this class, it may be supposed, are the prophecies of which St. Paul, himself prophesying, could foresee the failure as he foresaw the cessation of tongues, not as a decadence but in process of approximation to completeness, *τὸ τέλειον*.[1] Such forms of prophecy were (it has been suggested, p. 89) the natural incident of the impact of the Divine Spirit upon the human spirit, not yet docile to its suggestion or disciplined to afford to such a Presence an adequate channel of expression. No doubt these are the manifestations which would attract notice. To superficial observation, which is the commoner, they might seem the typical and verifiable forms of prophecy. They are in fact still discussed (and this may seem astonishing) as if they were prophecy itself. Whereas they were its least important concomitant, its danger rather than its strength. They served a purpose as signs to them that did not believe—perhaps also for confirmation of faith to those who believed imperfectly—marking as they did the entrance of a new force into the sphere of human life. But it is not in the aspect which such manifestations present that we can identify prophecy as one of the foundations of the Church of God. The Church is not based on such things as visions or

[1] 1 Cor. xiii. 10.

trances or tongues; the "signs" on which it depends to convince the world are those of truth to God and to conscience, of the energy of its message to convert the soul and to regenerate society. The impulse of its interior force has not been derived from such communication with Heaven as can find its vehicle in spasmodic voices, but from conscious knowledge of God and of His Son Jesus Christ. The prophetic power which underlies its development is the power to receive and to communicate that knowledge.

As regards the record of prophecy, it is to be looked for, not in such fragments as have survived, for example, in Ignatius' outcry at Philadelphia or in Polycarp's dream before his martyrdom or in the laboured allegory of Hermas; the record of prophecy is in the Scriptures of the New Testament. In our reverence for these Scriptures as our sacred Canon we need not forget that they are also the contemporary documents of the Christian origins, and that they incorporate the results of the earliest study of the Christian data—of the person of our Lord, of the significance and effect of the redemptive events, of Christ's ethical and spiritual teaching, of the relation of the Old Testament dispensation and its scriptures to that which had now begun, and of the relation of all of these to human salvation. These data did not in themselves constitute a gospel or supply a theology. The apostles were already in possession of all their material when on the eve of the Ascension they were still inquiring when the Christ would fulfil their nationalist aspirations.[1]

[1] Acts i. 6.

They knew the facts of the Gospel, but these facts remained to them incoherent and unintelligible until the advent of the Holy Spirit to illuminate their understanding: no man knows the things of God, save the Spirit of God who is in him. What we know summarily as "Christianity" is an interpretation of the evangelic events, which under the Spirit's teaching has been reached in human hearts and minds: and that interpretation is the supreme work and the supreme example of prophecy.

The New Testament Scriptures are not the work of Apostleship as such, but of prophecy. Only four of the nine sacred writers are of the number of the great Apostleship. The Church has accurately recognised that the authority of these writings is not that of their human authorship—but rests on their inspiration: it is the Holy Spirit who speaks in them. Their place in the Church's value depends not on the personality of the writers, for at least one of these is absolutely anonymous: it depends upon the character of their contents. The prophetic Spirit lies behind the work of the Synoptists in the selection and arrangement of material and in the method of their narrative. That greatest of all tragedies, the Fourth Gospel, is more than the record of the intercourse of the Bosom Disciple with his Lord—it is the interpretation of the Person of our Lord by the prophetic spirit through St. John. The Book of Acts is prophecy in the form of history—it is the prophetic reading of the purpose of God in those events which carried the Gospel

from the world-centre at Jerusalem to the world-centre at Rome. Behind St. Paul's Epistles lies the "abundance of revelations"—that consciousness of insight into mysteries—the knowing of Christ and of the power of His resurrection which Paul had never apprehended, but which he felt to be progressively apprehending him. In greater detail, we may see what prophecy, where it is most clearly prophetic, is, when we read those marvellous parentheses in the Fourth Gospel in which St. John comments on his story as it goes, or those prolongations of our Lord's discourses which so carry on Christ's thought that we are at a loss to say where the living Voice has ceased and where the voice of the Spirit takes up its burden; or in another aspect in those passages of his Epistles where St. Paul deduces a specifically Christian theory of life as the proper inference from the great verities of Christian dogma. Or we may find a singularly perfect example of the work of Christian prophecy in the Epistle to the Hebrews, borrowing as it does nothing from the weight of any name, offering itself to be judged only by the self-verifying nature of its content; in its vision of the Heavenly Christ, in its exposition of the symbolism of the Ancient Covenant, and in its practical exhortations to the Christian:—there we see what prophecy had to do, and we see something of how its work was done; we understand how St. Paul should have recognised prophecy as one of the two foundations on which the Church's life rested: prophecy, not as a system of teratics, but as the presence of a supernatural

intelligence and sensibility operating within a regenerate humanity, the Body of Christ.

The New Testament Scriptures give us such record of prophecy as Divine wisdom has judged to be necessary for a Rule of Faith and Morals. In one aspect it only shows us at its highest a process which πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως went on throughout the area of the Spirit's indwelling. The prophetic Scriptures have taken their place in Christian acceptance and reverence because they correspond with that Christian experience to which they continually appeal for verification. St. Paul requires from Heaven a Spirit in the Ephesians which shall be able to comprehend him, in order that he may expound to them the mystery revealed to himself.[1] St. Peter writes as reminding the flock of "things that they know, a present truth in which they were established"[2]; and Paul appeals to the Galatians for confirmation of his Gospel, which he had himself received by direct revelation from Christ.[3] The apostles, "first depositaries" of the oracles of God as they were, yet lived in the Church's life and breathed its atmosphere, and the Church shared with them one Spirit. The expiscation of Christian doctrine, Christian morals, Christian duty, Christian worship, went on diffusedly in countless Christian congregations, Christian homes, Christian lives. The questions addressed from Corinth to St. Paul give a glimpse into the activity of the process, and they are few as com-

[1] Ephes. iii. 14–19. [2] 1 Pet. v. 12; 2 Pet. i. 12; iii. 1.
[3] Gal. iii. 1 f.; i. 11, 12.

pared with the multitude of questions which disciples were answering for themselves everywhere, forced to find answers to them, with every hour. "Put them in mind," St. Paul writes once and again[1]: the Church has learnt to know for itself those things which Apostles taught.

Inasmuch as the Apostles represented the primary delivery of the deposit of faith and determined its form,[2] it lay also with them to correct divergence from the Christian type of doctrine, to settle principles and to decide emergent questions of faith and practice; cases of their doing so are too numerous for recapitulation, but one may instance, besides the questions answered to the Corinthians (which include matter so important as that of the Resurrection to come), St. Paul's dealing with nascent Gnosticism at Colossae, or with the question of prayer for the Emperor, involving so much as to the relation of the Church to civil order; St. Peter's provision for the conduct of the Church in presence or anticipation of persecution: and St. John's denunciation of Docetism. Authority had its source and centre in the Apostolate—they carried the burden of all the Churches, and watched as men who must give account. It lay always with them in the last resort to determine whether any conclusion in doctrine or inference in practice was or was not true to the norm of faith or to the rule of the Spirit of Jesus, as they had committed

[1] 2 Tim. ii. 14; Tit. iii. 1; conf. Jude 3.
[2] Rom. vi. 17; 1 Cor. xv. 1–8; 1 Tim. ii. 7.

these to the Christian society. Nevertheless there remained for the diffused body of the Church an extensive task of the assimilation and exegesis of the apostolic deposit. Where Apostles determined "the way," [1] they who followed made the beaten track upon which succeeding generations should tread safely. They formed a Christian experience; they developed in detail a Christian code of the better and the worse, *τὸ καλὸν* and *τὸ αἰσχρόν*; they learnt a devotional life, an *ἄσκησις*, and formed a "custom of the Churches," [2] which embodied "the law of the Spirit of life through Christ Jesus." [3] This was the work of the prophetic spirit and prophetic energy which are throughout the Christian fellowship. It is a work which the apostolic nucleus could originate and could regulate and could shape to a definite and accepted result, but which from the nature of the work it could not by itself carry out, any more than a gardener can carry out the life and growth of the plant which he has planted and prunes and waters. It is God who gives the increase.

This work then of the application of faith to circumstance and of the ascertainment of concrete Christian experience which went to build up by degrees the system of life, thought, and conduct which we summarise as "Christianity," was the work of the prophetic spirit immanent in the Church as a whole and diffused throughout its general activity. At the same time it was not work in which all would be found equally active. In every movement there

[1] Acts ix. 2; xix. 9, etc. [2] 1 Cor. xi. 16. [3] Rom. viii. 2.

are those who lead and those who accompany, those who perceive and those who are made to understand; it is the former who represent and even seem to constitute the movement. In any association of Christians there are such men, who may or may not be its official leaders, but who are in fact its spiritual force. Such men must have been found in each ecclesia—men who saw more clearly and felt more deeply and were driven by the stronger conviction; and these might be regarded as *par excellence* the prophets in that ecclesia—not necessarily men in office, though such men must have been and unquestionably were sought and chosen for office. It would not follow that officially they were prophets: by its nature prophecy cannot be official.

It is significant that, except in St. Paul's idealistic presentation of the Church from the standpoint of Heavenly endowment, and in the symbolic vocabulary of the Apocalypse, we meet the actual "prophet" as a concrete and factual person only in the Judaean group which is mentioned in Acts.[1]

The Church grew out of Judaism, and in Judaism the prophet was strictly the exceptional person, defined from his fellow Israelites by a real spiritual difference—he had what they had not, and he was

[1] The exception, if any, would be the "prophets" of 1 Cor. xiv. 29–32; but these seem to be merely of the rank and file of the Church, considered in the act of exhibiting prophetic impulse. The "prophets" of Acts all hail from Jerusalem—Agabus, Barnabas, Saul, Simeon, Lucius, Manaen, Judas, Silas. The daughters of Philip prophesied, but are not denominated prophetesses. The Judaean prophets seem possibly to represent in some way a fruit of the original outpouring of Pentecost.

what they were not; on him rested the Spirit of the Lord; God revealed to him what God would do, and for God he spoke the mind of God. Under the Gospel the Spirit was "poured upon all flesh"; whoever was in Christ was one Spirit with Christ. The prophetic gift became the common possession of believers. But it is possible that at first this obliteration of distinction was not realised. Men were accustomed to regard one as distinctively "a prophet," another as "no prophet." There are other respects in regard to which the Church did not immediately grasp the law of its own being; it came but slowly to recognise that it is Catholic—perhaps as slowly to perceive that it is prophetic, and that it is prophetic in its whole membership—that prophecy, while manifest in one with greater power than in another, is no distinction of kind among Christian men. Here or there the gift was evident; in an Agabus or a Barnabas it leapt to the eye; these then, it was assumed, were "prophets." Next, however, it was found that many prophesied, exhibiting in degree the same gift, used by the same Spirit to declare the same message or to communicate the like counsel—they also in their measure showing that insight, and they also urged by that necessity of expression, which are the characteristics of prophecy. Prophesyings were discovered to be usual, so that it was needful to warn against despising them. It even came to seem that all might prophesy.

At this point perhaps the distinctively Christian way of referring to these matters began to be substituted for the more Judaic nomenclature which

had been at first inevitable—men ceasing to speak of "the prophet" as a person distinct among his brethren, and speaking instead of prophecy, prophesyings, prophetic gifts, prophetic men [1]—as one may hope we shall always have occasion to do. *Prophecy* we meet with constantly as a recognised and treasured element of the Church's life—not even the misuse of prophecy by Montanism shook the Church's conviction of its own prophetic character; "the apostle shows" (writes the anti-Montanist quoted by Eusebius) "that the gift of prophecy should be in the whole Church until the coming of the Lord." [2] The individual prophet on the other hand, except in mystical writing such as St. Paul's enumerations, St. John's *Apocalypse*, Hermas' *Pastor*, does not appear later than Agabus at Caesarea [3] until we meet him again in the shadowy pages of the *Didache*.

Prophecy has always been dogged by its counterpart; over against the true prophet has stood the sinister figure of the false prophet. Deuteronomy warns against false prophets.[4] Jeremiah and Ezekiel [5] repeatedly complain of them. Our Lord foretold

[1] 1 Thess. v. 20; 1 Cor. xii. 10; xiii. 2, 8; xiv. 6, 22; 1 Tim. i. 18; iv. 14. Ignatius prophesies, but does not speak of prophets. Polycarp is "a prophetic teacher," not a prophet. Quadratus was "noted for his prophetical gifts." Ammias and Quadratus are said to have "prophesied under the New Testament." Justin and Irenaeus speak of "prophetic gifts" enduring in the Church of their respective times.

[2] Eus., *H. E.*, v. 17: *μέχρι τῆς τελείας παρουσίας.*

[3] Acts xxi. 10.

[4] Deut. xiii. 1–5; xviii. 20–22.

[5] Jerem. xiv. 13–16; xxiii. 9–40; Ezek. xiii. 16; xxii. 25, 28.

them—He bade beware of them;[1] He said that many false prophets should arise.[2] St. Paul is aware that false prophecy is in the air, and bids men discriminate between it and the true by the broad test of attitude to the person of Christ—a test suited to the circumstances of a time and place where in the midst of Paganism the question was one of acceptance or rejection of a freshly proclaimed Gospel. For St. John, writing at a later stage and within a formed Christian society, the question is not now between a Jesus who is Lord and a Jesus who is Anathema, but between different presentations of a Christ who is accepted by all in whom St. John is interested; and to him the test of true prophecy or false is that of doctrinal truth :—the Spirit of God witnesses to a real incarnation, but the spirit of antichrist shuns that confession. Many false prophets, he says, are gone out into the world. In his apocalypse the false prophet figures along with the dragon and the beast as one of the forces which oppose the Kingdom of Christ.

The safeguard of prophecy was its impersonal character. It had no warrant except that of its intrinsic worth. Men spoke it under an impulse which to themselves seemed to be Divine,[3] with the sense that what they said was given them to say it. They were required to give it with intelligent responsibility and not as an oracle of which they were only the medium.[4] Others judged of what

[1] St. Matt. vii. 15.
[2] *Ibid.* xxiv. 11.
[3] 1 Cor. vii. 40.
[4] *Ibid.* xiv. 19, 32.

they said, whether it was of God or not. All was to be tested; only that which was good was to be observed.[1] These formed their own estimate of what the prophecy required of them, even when it was accepted as true prophecy—as for example, Paul did at Caesarea[2]; for the Christian is a free man in the manner of his obedience. In proportion as prophecy should lose this impersonality and should become the dictum of an individual, taking weight from his position as a recognised prophet, prophecy would necessarily become a danger and the prophet himself tend to be a charlatan. A person who sees visions, falls into trances, or delivers oracles which must be obeyed because he delivers them, is a danger, to himself and to others. It is, as Harnack has said, easy for him to degenerate. If he is genuine and sincere, he will have difficulty in maintaining his sincerity intact. If he is himself sincere, he is likely to have imitators who are not. He is in any case an anomaly in the free spiritual life of the Christian society; for he demands of men what Christians may not lawfully give, namely submission of conscience upon other grounds than those of moral conviction, or belief on other ground than that of perception of truth. Such a person requires for his activity an atmosphere not of faith but of superstition.

Such prophets as we meet in the pages of the sub-apostolic writers are mainly, if not always, of this professional type. When Hermas deals with the actual circumstances of his time, it is this sus-

[1] 1 Thess. v. 21, connected with the προφητείας of v. 20.

[2] Acts xx. 23–4; xxi. 4, 10–14.

pect person whom he knows best under the claim to be prophet. Those prophets who have entered into the foundation of the Church belong to the past in its ideal truth—in the hard fact of his day the prophet has become the Empty Prophet who exalts himself and claims regard as an inspired person, a clairvoyant in quest of fees. Hermas has a vivid and intelligent conception of what prophecy really is, its humility, its spontaneity, its impersonality, its readiness to be tested on its merits, and its submissiveness to the mind of God: "Thus, therefore, is the Spirit of the Lord known, because whosoever speaketh by the Spirit of God speaketh as the Lord wills." He is, however, but slightly concerned with this ideal figure of the true prophet. He describes him only in order to contrast him with the empty prophet in whom he is really interested, who evidently is the person who occupies the stage. Justin Martyr[1] admits that "many false teachers," whom he parallels with the false prophets of the Old Testament, were to be found within Christianity. He does not claim as against them the possession of true prophets, but of the "prophetical gift" which he says "remains with us even to the present time." The gift remains, but individual or recognised prophets are not instanced. Irenaeus[2] describes the methods of one such teacher, who, heretic as he is stated to have been, must have operated within Christian circles, for Irenaeus accuses him of attempting to corrupt "some of the most faithful women," and

[1] *Dial. with Trypho*, lxxxii. [2] *Adv. Heres.*, I., xiii. 3, 4, 6.

in the case of one, wife of a deacon, of succeeding. Origen[1] tells us that no prophets bearing any resemblance to the ancient prophets have appeared in Celsus' time, so that Celsus cannot have heard such prophecy, and demands the names of those whom Celsus professes to describe.

The prophet of the *Didache*, so far as he may stand for anything actually existent, represents a final stage of this degeneracy. Once acknowledged for a prophet he may not be called in question.[2] His unpleasant practices, which are apparently to be expected, are to be condoned, since such (it is to be believed) have been the manners of his predecessors—the line is to be drawn only when he may propose to invite imitators.[3] Lower than this the conception of prophecy could hardly sink: yet this is the "true prophecy" of the *Didache*[4]—even it maintains the traditional attitude of suspicion that a false prophecy is only too possible; though what under the circumstances that may have been it is less easy to conjecture.

Not much weight can be given to hostile descriptions of the Christian prophet by such writers as Celsus or Lucian. They knew the false; they did not know the true. Lucian gives what is frankly satire, telling us what he thought might be conceived to happen in case of a very unscrupulous man playing the part of prophet. Celsus, however, writes gravely, and though he shows confusion and is imperfectly informed has, one can see, certain facts before him,

[1] *Cont. Cels.*, vii. 11. [2] *Didache*, XI. 7. [3] *Ibid.* 11.
[4] "Every approved true prophet."

which Origen in his answer does not deny. The professional prophet had in so far become a scandal.

There were, as on a general survey is evident, two possible lines which the development of prophecy in the Church might follow, both of which were actually followed—a line of truth and a line of error. From the beginning the prophetic energy showed itself in two different aspects, which, as they existed at Corinth, St. Paul contrasts. On the one hand, there were forms of prophecy which were teratic and abnormal to the ordinary conditions of life, glossolalia, ecstasy, trance and the like; on the other hand, there were forms of it which were unremarkable but serviceable, " for edification," " with one's understanding," hortatory, expository, interpretative, directed like that of Judas and Silas at Antioch to exhortation and confirmation.[1] Prophecy of the one type St. Paul almost deprecates—as Batiffol says,[2] he is afraid of it—prophecy of the other type he desired for himself and for every one. The false development would be that which should emphasise the abnormal and marvellous; the true development would be that which should be willing that the exceptional and less useful should lapse by neglect, and should pursue in preference the rational and the consciously edifying. The false development would tend to exalt and separate the gifted man; the true development would aim at the elevation of the general life of the Church. It is this latter development which the course of events has actually

[1] Acts xv. 32: παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἐπεστήριξαν.

[2] *Prim. Cath.*, p. 30.

shown. As that which at first could appear only as an aggregation of converts grew into a spiritual whole, the individual of special illumination became less important and less distinguishable. What had been exceptional became usual. The prophetic ceased to be the extraordinary. The opportunity of spiritual originality diminished. What had at first been a very revelation, requiring for its perception some soul of rarer discernment, was by and by the commonplace of belief; what had been fresh in Christian thought had become the familiar maxim of every Christian teacher. Practical problems came to be solved; questions of interpretation came to be settled. By degrees experience took the place which at first only spiritual intuition could fill. The Church was being builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit; it was growing to be a homogeneous fellowship with a common thought and a common understanding of itself and its calling. It offered itself with increasing conductivity to the inflow of the Spirit of Christ. An electric current flashes and sparkles only where the continuity of the conductor is imperfect; as that improves, the current flows silent and invisible, but flows more strongly. It is this which happens as the Church grows in grace and in the knowledge of Christ Jesus: it assimilates the prophetic: it draws charisma from the surface into its vital habit. As the Church becomes the more perfect vehicle of the Spirit, manifestation of the Spirit tends, not to cease, but to change form from the marvellous to the ethical and serviceable. In that way the evidence of the Church's supernatural

character assumes permanent shape. St. Paul recognises this when in the Pastoral Epistles he recurs again and again with delighted recognition to the "wholesomeness" of Christian teaching and of its results.[1] This is the principal theme of the Epistle to Diognetus, and is the demonstration of Christianity which its writer has to offer. There is no need that we should speak of withdrawal of gift or of cessation of prophecy; what we see in the history of the Church's life is neither of these things—it is a developing capacity to contain and to express the spirit in congruously spiritual ways. "The prophetic spirit must continue in the whole Church": the more it is the energy of the Church as a whole, the less will it be distinguishable as the exceptional possession of any one member of the Church. The prophetic gift diffused in the Church is, in a sense, the antithesis of the prophet as an individual. The more complete the diffusion of the gift, the nearer the approach in that relation to the Christian ideal.

Prophecy can neither cease nor can it be superseded by institutional ministry. True, the Church no longer speaks of it in the language of the earlier chapters of the Book of Acts; a change of phrase began to show itself at a very early point. One may doubt if it was usual to recognise individuals as peculiarly prophets for any long time after the earliest time of all. In his later writings, as has been pointed out, St. Paul has nothing to say of prophets, St. Peter has nothing, St. John speaks only to warn against

[1] 2 Tim. i. 13; iv. 3; Tit. i. 9, 13; ii. 1, 2, 8. See Bishop Paget, *The Sanity of Saintliness.*

false prophecy. Prophets play no part in the Christian world of Clement or of Ignatius. Justin and Irenaeus speak of the prophetic gift as a survival whose existence needs to be asserted. It is partly, no doubt, because, as has been said, the prophetic spirit, once strange and notable, had come to be recognised as resident "in the whole Church" and is no longer phenomenal: it is also because the name and claim of the prophet had been discredited by professionalism, and was finally discredited by the attempt of Montanism to base what may be admitted to have been in some aspects a real spiritual reaction against accommodation to the world, upon a revival of teratic prophecy in some of its least admirable features. Prophecy, however, has not ceased. It continues to be what it has always been —the utterance of the burden of the Christian heart as the Christian man conceives himself to be shown the mind of God or to have received light upon truth; who therefore offers his teaching or his interpretation or his warning or his exhortation: "and the rest judge." It is now, as it always was, unofficial, just as much and just as little "a ministry" as in the first century. The Spirit of God and the spirit of error no doubt still both find voice, and many antichrists go out; we have the same tests by which to know them and the same responsibility to discern.

The theory of a twofold ministry, charismatic and institutional, is impracticable: (1) because it sets up a distinction which cannot exist in a body which is by nature wholly charismatic. To propose charisma as constituting ministry is—since char-

isma is admittedly universal to Christians—either a commonplace (which one may suspect it of being), or it is a denial of the existence of ministry as distinguished from the flock ministered to. A distinction cannot be based upon what is universal. The position that there is and should be no ministry (no "one-man ministry") is quite well understood and is respectably supported; it can be stated and defended more compactly than in the form of a theory of charismatic ministry; if the original order of the Church accorded with the position described by that theory, we may as well face the fact and the inferences. Further, it is (2) impracticable, because by its nature charisma cannot be the possession of a class, and is incapable of being made the differentia of an order—such a claim depresses the Christian flock in a manner which is inconsistent with the radical ideas of Christianity, and introduces into the spiritual life an intolerable dichotomy. Distinctions based on institution have not that effect; they are compatible with the homogeneity of the fellowship and with recognition of the identically supernatural life of the whole Body, in which all members, whatever their relative status, are equally honourable, since the only honour of any is to be of Christ's Body in whatever function, and since each can but fill his own place which he has received of God and not of man. This is not contradicted by the view that charisma attends, as well as precedes and qualifies for, institutional office—a view which we find involved in St. Paul's allusion to the grace which was in Timothy by the imposition of hands, or in

Irenaeus' attribution of the *charisma veritatis* to the office of chief pastors, and which is the general conviction expressed in the Church's ordinals. God sends no man to warfare at his own charges and withholds from none the grace which shall be sufficient for his responsibility.[1]

Two things we shall fail to find among the Christian origins: (1) An order of ministry which acts in virtue of charisma, without mission institutionally mediated; or (2) any order of ministry which is independent of charisma, which is appointed without regard to charisma, or is limited to functions which do not demand charisma for their exercise. The theory of Twofold Ministry requires to find both of these, and without them falls.

At these Christian origins we do perceive a twofoldness; we perceive, that is to say, the presence there of that which is still with us, and also the presence of that which is no longer with us. But the distinction is not between an institutional which persists and a charismatic which has evanesced; the charismatic cannot pass—the spiritual order of the Church's life cannot become mundane or sink into the merely natural. The distinction is between the Apostolate proper which is *functus officio*, and the organised life of the Church which continues. The Apostolate, while of and within the Church, and

[1] "That the laying on of hands was regarded as conferring the charisma necessary to the office is obvious from the passages in Timothy, and it is improbable that these express only a later idea. The laying on of hands was thus certainly sacramental." Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church*, p. 26.

while impressing permanently its character upon the Church, represents in one aspect the transcendency of Christ over the Church. The Apostles occupy a relation to Christ which is necessarily unique, inasmuch as they constitute the link between the historical Incarnation and the Church which proceeds from the Incarnation and extends it. It is quite true that Apostles *as such* have and can have no successors. What our Scottish theologians [1] have asserted for subsequent and subsisting ministry is that it has succeeded to as much of the apostolic commission as in its nature is transmissible. The *differentia* of apostleship from other ministry is obviously not transmissible. The Apostolate was the hand of Christ to launch upon its voyage the Ship of the Church. Its office was to do that which is done ἅπαξ,[2] once for all, delivering the deposit of faith and order. This is its uniqueness in character and function as a Ministry and the root of Ministry; and hence the twofoldness which in the first stage of the Church's life is plain enough. It is not an antinomy of the charismatic and the institutional; the Apostolate is both charismatic and institutional, and the Church as founded upon the Apostolate is both charismatic and institutional. Principal Lindsay is acutely right when he indicates [3] the analogy of this twofoldness to that which we see in the Foreign Mission Field, between the "Mission to the heathen" and the "Native Church" in which

[1] *E. g.*, Principal Hill, *Lectures*, vi. ii. 2; and in his *View of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland.*

[2] Jude, 3, 5. [3] *Church and Ministry*, p. 41, etc.

it results. That is not a distinction between the charismatic and the institutional:—the "Mission" brings with it institution as well as grace: the "Native Church" is equally charismatic with the Mission which has called it into being. The missionary stage of its existence passes, but its charismatic and institutional life alike continue.

The words charismatic and prophetic define the whole environment within which the apostolic activity proceeded and the whole material which the Apostolate organised. One will think more accurately if the Apostolate be conceived of as the institutional force within the Church's charismatic mass, than if the Apostolate is regarded as a charismatic force at work within the Church as a natural society. Neither view is adequate; but it is true that the Church is a charismatic plasm, and that the Apostolate was the regulative centre from which the Church received a rule of faith and a definite discipline.

Look beyond the moment of the presence of the Apostolate in the Church—the twofoldness has disappeared. It is no longer in the picture; not in Clement's picture of Church life, not in that of Ignatius or of Justin or of Irenaeus. The Apostles have passed away; there remain those things which to-day we know: the Flock of God, the Ministry of Christ, and the Grace of the Holy Ghost—that "gift of Prophecy which must continue in the whole Church until the coming of the Lord."

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